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DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

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THE LIFE

OF

JOHN CHURCHILL

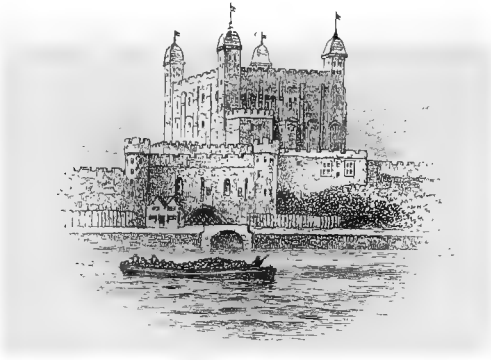
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

TO THE

ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE

BY

FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT WOLSELEY, K.P.



TOWER OF LONDON

VOLUME TWO

FOURTH EDITION

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1894

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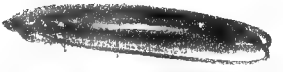

SOUTH-WEST FRONT OF ASH HOUSE, 1890.

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1688.

THE year 1688, which ended with the Great Revolution, was ushered in by violent storms, and by an epidemic which struck down both man and beast. The Angel of Death stalked through the land attacking high and low, and it is said that the astrologer of the Restoration had predicted that this year would be fatal to King James.* It is not intended to give a connected history of the events which contributed to the fulfilment of that remarkable prophecy, further than is necessary to illustrate the important part which Lord Churchill took in placing William and Mary on the throne.

For the successful issue of the Revolution we are more

* Partridge. Calamy's 'Historical Account of my own Life,' vol. i., p. 181. Partridge had also foretold the burning of Rome in 1666, which prediction, those who believed in his science asserted, was borne out by the burning of London that year. He was commonly called the 'Protestant almanack-maker.'

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indebted to Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, and to Lord Churchill, than to any other two Englishmen of those who brought it about. Both were disloyal to James, but in helping forward the Revolution they worked for what they believed to be the real interests of their country, and in Churchill's case for what he conceived to be a duty to his God. It is difficult to say whether the Revolution would have been accomplished in 1688 had Halifax, Sidney, Cavendish, Shrewsbury, etc., done nothing to help William's invasion, but there can be little doubt that without the cordial co-operation of James's trusted Secretary of State, and of his best-known English General, that invasion would have been practically impossible. The part which Sunderland played in the plot was far more important than that taken by Churchill, yet historians have more or less spared the Minister to pour out all their stock of invective upon the soldier, who is commonly condemned as the worst sort of traitor. But when we honestly endeavour to judge the conduct of each, it is essential to remember that whilst Sunderland held a high office under James, and took bribes all round, no considerations of money had any influence with Churchill, and that since the battle of Sedgemoor he had not been employed, nor was he in the King's secrets.

From the assiduity with which William strove to gain over Churchill, it is evident that he fully understood the importance of having the English army on his side, the necessity of at least having its power of resistance neutralized, and this he could only hope to compass with the connivance and help of Lord Churchill. The Princess Mary's letters to Sarah at this time, of course inspired by her husband, make this clear.*

The Revolution was a matter of the deepest moment, not only to England, but to Europe generally. The history of its events, however, is little more than the personal history of King James, the Prince of Orange, and the few leading

* See two letters from the Princess Mary to Sarah, printed in 'The Conduct,' pp. 50, 51.

Englishmen who helped William to the throne. We are too apt to regard it as the result of some great national rising, whereas the people took but little active part in its proceedings. Their sturdy Protestantism and hatred of Roman Catholicism caused them to regard William as their only possible protector, but without the cabal almost exclusively composed of peers who plotted against James, and without Prince William to lead and direct the conspiracy, any attempted rising in 1688 would certainly have ended as did Monmouth's rebellion.

In the many popular declarations made after William had landed, the English gentry stated that they were determined to maintain the ancient laws, rights, and liberties of the English people. They asked for nothing from the Crown beyond the free exercise of their ancient privileges, of which the Stewart kings had one and all conspired to deprive them. The Revolution guaranteed to them these rights; and the laws then enacted were intended to protect the nation for ever against the tyranny of unconstitutional kings. The triumph of the Revolution was no democratic victory like that which ended in the despotism of Cromwell, nor was it any general uprising of the people to assert their rights against a tyrannical aristocracy, as in French Jacobin days. It was planned and carried out by the aristocracy, but on lines and with aims that were entirely in accord with the sentiment of the people. In fact, it was the House of Lords who fought out the question of the Protestant succession, and protected the Dissenters against the hatred of the majority in the House of Commons. The strength of that majority was neutralized by divisions amongst the Tories, for the burning question of Protestantism versus Divine Right tore them asunder and rendered them powerless. Every Tory was horrified at the proposal to change the reigning dynasty by Act of Parliament. There could be only one legitimate King according to their faith. But at the same time, nine-tenths of them, like Churchill, sympathized with the nation in their deter-

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mination to get rid of the Roman Catholic monarch, who sought to destroy the Established Church and to trample on civil liberty.

Many circumstances combined to favour the Revolution, and of these, the great strategical mistake made this year in the selection of a line-of-operations for the French army was not the least important. Instead of wasting his strength upon the Upper Rhine, Lewis XIV. should have delivered his blows upon the Meuse and the Lower Rhine. But he went off on a side-issue to attack the Emperor, when he should have struck at William of Orange to prevent his invasion of England.* Barillon fully understood this mistake, and later on, when the French army sat down before Phillipsburg, he urged Lewis to raise the siege, and to carry the war into Holland. Lewis, through his Ambassador in London, proposed this to James, who discussed it in Council. Although some were for it, the majority opposed any fresh invasion of Holland by France on the ground that it would alienate James's Protestant subjects. An attack upon Holland was the move which William and the other conspirators dreaded most, for it would effectually stop the Prince's expedition to England. If Lewis had threatened Holland, William would neither have ventured to denude his country of the troops he took to England nor to quit Holland himself. In other words, the Revolution could not have taken place in 1688.

As long as James occupied the Throne, Lewis, his paymaster, could count upon English support in all operations against the Netherlands. But should James lose his Throne as the result of a successful rebellion, England would at once become Holland's ally. This was evident to Lewis, and he had consequently from the first regarded James's proceedings with grave apprehension. Gladly as he would have helped to bring back England into the Catholic fold, the enlargement of France was still nearer his heart. He had, therefore, always deprecated those violent measures

* Lewis declared war against the Emperor on 24, 9, 1688.

against Protestantism which he had long felt assured would sooner or later force the English people into revolt, for he foresaw that the revolution which destroyed his friend James would exalt his enemy William. England under the rule of William would become the active enemy of France on every sea, and her soldiers would swell the confederate ranks on every Flemish battle-field. It was for these reasons, and not from any feelings of humanity or of justice, that Lewis XIV. discountenanced James's attacks upon Protestantism.

The Princess Anne was an important factor in the Revolution. Had she taken her father's part, King William's difficulties would have been most seriously increased. To her dull and toping husband she was a faithful wife, but he exercised no influence over her. Sarah Churchill was the real keeper of her conscience and director of her actions. The line which Anne would take in the conspiracy against her father would be that which her favourite recommended her to follow. William was well aware of this, and the fact naturally enhanced the value of Lord Churchill's co-operation. In this particular instance Sarah had an easy task, for Anne's mind turned naturally to the preservation of the English Church, to which she ever remained faithfully devoted. Her letters to Mary are full of the horror with which she viewed the efforts against Protestantism made by 'Mansell,' as she irreverently styled her father for purposes of concealment.

Meanwhile, dull as James was, he could see that troubles must be encountered before his designs could be accomplished, and he wanted to be better prepared for them than he had been for Monmouth's rebellion. He relied more upon his army than upon the hearts of his people. As a preliminary measure, he asked William to send back the six British battalions in the Dutch service. This request, made upon the advice of Lord Sunderland, was partly prompted by a new cause of dislike on the part of James to the Prince of Orange, namely, William's positive refusal to aid him

$\frac{1}{27}$ 1, 168$\frac{7}{8}$.

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in his attempt to repeal the penal laws against Roman Catholics. The States-General refused to allow the regiments to leave Holland, which so enraged James that he straightway issued a proclamation, ordering all his subjects to quit the Dutch 'service and return home within the space of two calendar months,' etc. The States persisted in their refusal, but permitted the officers to choose for themselves. About forty officers and a few privates—mostly Catholics—availed themselves of this permission. One result of these withdrawals was that the regiments were purged of those whom William feared to employ, yet hesitated to dismiss. He counted much upon these British troops in his long-thought-out plans for the invasion of England, inasmuch as they would, he thought, invest the undertaking with the aspect of an English rising, instead of an invasion by a foreign army.*

$\frac{11}{21}$ 3, $168\frac{7}{8}$.

The officers and men who thus returned from Holland became the nucleus of three new battalions which James raised. The French King agreed to pay them, and promised to send him additional troops 'when he wanted them to put down his enemies, and to force his disobedient subjects into allegiance.'† Lewis deemed the presence of these British regiments in Holland to be prejudicial to his designs upon that country, and he was consequently anxious for their recall. But Sunderland was not prepared to recommend this course to his master without a bribe from Lewis XIV. over and above his ordinary pension.‡ The story of his successful treason has hardly a parallel in history.

* Echard's 'History of the Revolution,' p. 93. These regiments formed a very important part of the army that came to England with William. The three English regiments were commanded by Tollemache, Henry Sidney and Sir Henry Bellasis. The whole brigade of six battalions numbered about 4,000 of all ranks when it landed in England with William.

† Barillon to Lewis XIV.

‡ Vol. i. of Sidney's Diary, edited by Blencowe. Henry Sidney commanded one of the six British regiments in the Dutch service.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS.—THE CONSPIRATORS INVITE WILLIAM TO INVADE ENGLAND.

The Bishops sent to the Tower—The garrison in their favour—Birth of the Pretender—Bishops acquitted—Invitation sent to William to come over and defend the liberties of the English people—The Warming-pan story—Meetings of the conspirators—Churchill's letter to William.

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ONE of the greatest of James's blunders was his arbitrary arrest of the 'seven Bishops'—'the seven lamps of the Church,' as they were commonly called by the people.* Of all the trials in his short but calamitous reign, theirs was the most remarkable. It excited the deepest interest in all parts of the kingdom, and more than all his other oppressive acts served to disclose the true object of his un-English schemes. The crime imputed to the Bishops was a refusal to order their clergy to read in Church the King's second declaration upon liberty of conscience. This declaration was nothing more in form than a royal edict removing the disabilities under which the Roman Catholics then suffered. But it was in substance an assertion on the part of the King that it was within his competence to override the law as enacted by Parliament. And while every-

June 5, 1688.

* They were Archbishop Sancroft, Bishops Ken, Lloyd, Turner, Lake, White, and Trelawney of Bristol. Bishop Lake, like Mews, who fought at Sedgemoor, had been a soldier. Except Lloyd and Trelawney all subsequently refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III.

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one in these days will applaud the object proposed, all will equally condemn the process by which James attempted to accomplish it.

Sancroft, the friend of Dissenters and most liberal and broad-minded of prelates, called the Bishops together at Lambeth, where it was resolved to petition the King against his order.* The petitioners declared that their conscience would not allow them to publish any declaration 'founded on a dispensing power which had been declared illegal by Parliament.' James was furious, called the petition 'a standard of rebellion,' and peremptorily rejected it with the words, 'God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it.' With such a man no compromise was possible, and it may be truly said that the Bishops' protest began the Revolution.

The King committed the seven recalcitrant Bishops to the Tower, a proceeding which outraged public opinion. The Royal Fusiliers, who formed the garrison of the fortress, evinced the utmost sympathy with their prisoners, and drank frequently to 'their lordships' health.' The Catholic Constable, Sir E. Hales, tried to suppress this open expression of feeling, but was told that the men were at that moment toasting the Bishops, and would continue to do so as long as they remained in confinement.†

Whilst the trial was proceeding, James Prince of Wales —afterwards known as the 'Old Pretender'—was born, and Sunderland, Jeffreys, the Quaker Penn, and the Catholic lords all urged the King to commemorate the event by the grant of a general pardon to all prisoners. They felt how much the release of the Bishops in this way would relieve the King from the embarrassment into which his ill-directed zeal had led him. But he refused; he

$\frac{10}{20}$ 6, 1688.

* It was Sancroft who had crowned James, and had afterwards urged him to return to the Church of England in a sermon which lasted an hour and a half.

† When the Bishops were acquitted, the Royal Fusiliers were removed from the Tower and replaced by Irish Catholic soldiers under Sir Charles Carney.

could not forgive men who had openly defied his authority, and his only answer was, 'indulgence had ruined his father.'* The trial proceeded, the Bishops were acquitted, and as they left the Court of King's Bench, the Abbey bells rang out a joyful peal. When the verdict was pronounced, Lord Halifax, who was in court, waving his hat, shouted, 'Huzza!' and all present joined in the cry, which spread eastward into every alley of the city, and westward until it was taken up by the troops encamped at Hounslow. The King, who was dining in the camp, desired Lord Feversham to ascertain the cause of the shouting. He soon came back, saying that it was 'nothing, only the soldiers cheering at the acquittal of the seven Bishops.' 'And you call that nothing?' growled the King. 'But so much the worse for them.' There was, indeed, good reason to take the shouting seriously, for it told James that he could no longer count upon the army in his attacks upon the Church. It ought to have warned him that even with soldiers there is a limit beyond which they will not go when rulers deal unrighteously with the soldiers' loyal countrymen in civil life.†

On the day following this iniquitous and ill-advised trial, $\frac{20}{30}\frac{6}{7}$, 1688. Henry Sidney sent to the Prince of Orange the famous though somewhat half-hearted invitation, signed by seven of the chief conspirators, to come over and defend the religious liberties of the English people.‡

No one now believes the celebrated 'warming-pan story'; but the arrangements for the Queen's lying-in were so badly managed that at the time it was commonly accepted as true by an ignorant, bigoted, and suspicious public. Amongst James's trusted advisers there were doubtless

* Plumptre's 'Life of Ken,' vol. ii.

† Sir J. Reresby says: 'The acclamations were a very rebellion in noise.'

‡ The seven were Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Bishop H. Compton, Admiral Russell, and Colonel H. Sidney. Swift abuses Sidney very scurrilously, but, then, Sidney had offended that most revengeful ecclesiastic.

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some who would not have shrunk from such a fraud in order to prevent Protestant Mary and her Dutch husband from coming to the throne; but James, to his credit be it said, was not capable of any such infamous deception. But far and near the English Protestants doubted the legitimacy of the newly-born Prince of Wales. Lord Churchill, amongst others, had been specially summoned to attend 'the Queen's labour,' but purposely absented himself from Court. After some time, James became aware of the general suspicions about the young Prince's birth, and summoned a Council, at which Churchill attended, to record the evidence of the Queen Dowager and

$\frac{22}{1}\ \frac{10}{11}$, 1688. of some peers' wives who were present, that the Queen had been delivered of a son.*

On the birth of a Prince of Wales the Princess Mary ceased to be heir presumptive to the throne. Neither she nor her husband could in future have any right to lecture, or even to advise, James upon English public affairs. The event was a serious blow to William's ambition. For more than two years he had been in close correspondence with the discontented Protestant party in England and Scotland. He now saw his hopes shattered, and the cup of his ambition dashed to the ground. There can be no doubt that this sudden extinction of his long-cherished hopes hastened the Revolution. As far back as 1679 he had discussed his wife's chances of succession to the English crown with Henry Sidney, who records in his diary: 'He (William) is convinced the Duke will never have the Crown, and I find would be very willing to be put in a way of having it himself.'† As long as Mary was next in the succession, William could afford to wait; but now the Crown could only be obtained by a revolution, and, in fact, by force. He therefore entered the more closely into the views and plots of the many Englishmen who had taken refuge in Holland from James's tyranny.

* Dom. Papers, Jac. II., 1688, Rolls House.

† Henry Sidney's Diary, vol. i., p. 130, 7, 9, 1679.

Anne's letters to her sister prove how much she doubted that the Prince of Wales was really the Queen's son. In a letter dated July 24th, she gives a full account of the lying-in, and amongst the ladies present in the room she mentions Lady Tyrconnel, Lord Churchill's beautiful sister-in-law.

Lords Halifax, Danby, Nottingham, Mordaunt and Lumley, Admirals Herbert and Russell, Colonel Sidney—afterwards Lord Romney—and the Bishop of London often met either at the Earl of Shrewsbury's or the Earl of Devonshire's to discuss the situation, and there they hatched their plan to dethrone James, and to place the government in the hands of William and Mary. With the exception of Devonshire, the conspirators seem to have been timid, weak, and all jealous and suspicious of one another.

In revolutionary councils the advice of the pusillanimous is generally to 'wait,' and 'not to be in a hurry.' Some peculiar, perhaps impossible, combination is said to be expected; but whether really believed in or not, want of nerve often causes the conspirator to pretend he does believe in it in order thereby to excuse his cowardice and indecision. In such councils, and at such moments, the decision of the man of action is invaluable. It makes itself felt at once, for there are many who require and even wish to have their minds made up for them. It is then that the resolute man draws his sword, and throwing away the scabbard, commits his fortune to the weapon he knows how to wield. Caution generally means failure; bold measures alone win in revolutions.

Early in the year the conspirators sent Admiral Russell to the Hague to confer with William, and lay before him the state of the nation.* It is, therefore, tolerably certain that the determination to get rid of James had been arrived at before his second 'Declaration of Indulgence,' in April, $\frac{27}{7}$-$\frac{4}{5}$, 1688. and before the prosecution of the Bishops in June.

* Note by Lord Dartmouth, p. 279, vol. iii., of Burnet.

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The following letter from Lord Churchill to William of Orange describes very fairly the feelings which animated, not only him, but nearly all the leading men in England at this time: 'August 4, 1688. SIR,—Mr. Sidney will lett you know how I intend to behave myselfe: I think itt is what I owe to God and my contry: my honour I take leave to put into your Royalle Hinesses hands, in which I think itt safe: if you think there is anny thing else that I ought to doe, you have but to command me, and I shall pay an intiere obedience to itt, being resolved to dye in that relidgion, that itt has pleased God to give you both the will and power to protect.—I am, etc., etc., CHURCHILL.'*

This letter should be read in conjunction with that which he wrote to James when he left him finally at Salisbury. It is the letter of a patriot, not of a mere conspirator; the letter of one who was risking all for conscience' sake. Those who read it in any other light can never have fully appreciated Churchill's position when James came to the Throne.

* The original letter is in Mr. Alfred Morrison's collection of autographs.

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JAMES REFUSES TO BELIEVE IN THE POSSIBILITY OF INVASION.

Lewis sees through William's intentions—Treacherous part played by Sunderland—James at last realises his position—He restores the Charters taken from the cities—He trusts in the loyalty of his soldiers and sailors.

LEWIS XIV. had seen through William's plans at an early date, and had earnestly sought to warn James of the impending storm. But though he did his best to arouse the infatuated King to a sense of his danger, all warnings passed unheeded. In a letter to his ambassador in London, Lewis says: 'At the Court where you are they seem asleep and spellbound, whilst threatened at home and abroad with the greatest conspiracy ever formed.' Barillon replies that 'James and his Secretary of State, Sunderland, think the invasion visionary,' etc. It was, he added, 'the fashion at Court to laugh so at those who believed in the possibility of an invasion, that he was consequently the subject of much Court raillery.' James tells us the same thing, and that of all whom he trusted, Admiral Lord Dartmouth alone credited the reports of William's preparations which reached him from Holland.* The secret, although well known to hundreds, was so well kept that James could not be induced to credit the story. The success of the enterprise depended much upon secrecy, but still more

$\frac{S}{N}$ and $\frac{11}{21}$, 9, 1688.

* James's Memoirs, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 158. Clarke's 'James II.,' vol. ii., p. 177.

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upon being able to persuade James that no conspiracy existed.

But anxious as the French King undoubtedly was to prevent William's projected invasion, he was more than others responsible for its success. First, as already pointed out, by sending his army into Germany, instead of keeping it to threaten Holland; and, secondly, by not using his powerful fleet to watch the Dutch coast and prevent the sailing of William's army of invasion.

When Colonel Skelton, the English ambassador at the Hague, demanded explanations as to William's military and naval preparations, he was told that they were not aimed at King James, and the Dutch envoy in England declared that they were directed against France. William also gave James repeated assurances to the same effect in his private letters. Tyrconnel, with all his faults, was a faithful servant to James, and if not the first, was amongst the earliest of the King's friends to warn him of William's real intentions. It was the wily Sunderland, helped by the Spanish ambassador, who succeeded in allaying James's suspicions and anxiety. He played his treacherous part so skilfully that no preparations to meet the coming storm were made until too late. He afterwards confessed that during these proceedings he daily expected to lose his head.* Endowed with a smooth tongue, ready wit, great fertility of resource, and restrained by no regard for truth, Sunderland succeeded in persuading James that Lewis XIV.'s warnings were those of the 'panic-monger,' and that the Dutch war preparations were really aimed at France. Above all, he succeeded, in opposition to the advice of the Roman Catholic party, in dissuading the King from accepting the proffered aid of the French fleet, and of the 30,000 soldiers whom Lewis wished to send him.† He frightened James into this refusal by impressing him with

* Sunderland's letter of $\frac{23}{2}$-$\frac{3}{4}$, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

† Lord Ailesbury in his Memoirs states that Sunderland himself told him this, p. 184.

the idea that the presence of such a French force in England would degrade him to the position of a viceroy to Lewis. Lewis was naturally angry when he found his warnings disregarded, and his offers of ships and troops refused. Determined, however, to thwart the machinations of William, he ordered his ambassador to inform the Prince Feb. 9, 1688 that he, at least, understood the real object of these warlike preparations, and that he would regard an attack upon his friend and ally, the King of England, as a *casus belli*. At the instigation of Sunderland, this conduct on the part of Lewis was resented by James, who, to mark his disbelief in any threatened attack, recalled Colonel Skelton, and committed him to the Tower as a purveyor of false intelligence. Sunderland is described in the following terms by a contemporary: 'Trimming goes on at a great rate, but Sunderland, as he is like the devil in the whole tenour of his conduct, so he is particularly in this instance. He tempts and damns two-thirds of mankind, and yet the hungry maw of this roaring lion yearns after the other part.'* In acknowledging the part he played in persuading $\frac{23}{2}$-4. 1689. James to refuse the French King's offers of an army and a fleet, he says of himself: 'I opposed to death the acceptance of them, as well as any assistance of men: and can say most truly that I was the principal reason of hindering both, by the help of some lords, with whom I consulted every day, and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great prejudice, if not ruinous to the nation.'†

It is curious that James should have so liked and trusted one who in the previous reign had strenuously supported the 'Exclusion Bill.' But he was deceived by Sunderland's pretended conversion to Popery, and by his cunning assurance that he had really supported that Bill in James's interest. He said he knew that the Bill would not pass,

* Letter from Bolingbroke of July, 1702, to Sir William Trimball. Spencer House Papers.

† Kennet, vol. iii., p. 518. This letter was addressed to a friend. It was licensed and, I think, published.

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and that had it not been supported vigorously by his party, the 'Limitation Bill' would certainly have become law, which would have hampered the King in all his actions, degrading him to a position little better than that of the Doge of Venice.*

In the autumn James begged for money from Lewis to equip more ships, and he in every way did his utmost to strengthen the Channel fleet. He was given 400,000 livres (about £16,000). Sunderland asked for more, but had to rest content with that amount. Vessels were hastily prepared as fire-ships, all naval officers were refused leave, and every available ship of war was sent to the Downs, where the fleet was ordered to remain. The French King wisely urged James to bring over from Ireland all the Catholic troops he could depend upon. But the Irish troops were no less dreaded in England than the French; and James was easily persuaded by the Duke of Grafton, Sunderland, Churchill and others, to refrain, for a time, from taking this step.

In the middle of September it was at one time resolved to arrest Halifax, Nottingham, Danby and some others, whom the Catholics strongly suspected of intriguing with William. This was a move which Henry Sydney dreaded greatly; for should the plot be discovered a couple of weeks before the Dutch fleet sailed for England, and should the chief conspirators be imprisoned, its success would be extremely doubtful.†

About the middle of August James was 'greatly awakened' by the unusual preparations being made in Holland for some naval expedition, but it was not until September 23 that he became aware of William's true object. The information which convinced him came from his minister at the Hague, who reported that the pensionary Fagel had at last frankly owned the truth to him. James was speechless with astonishment. It was a

* Echard's 'History of the Revolution,' p. 61.

† Sydney to William, Dalrymple, p. 231.

staggering blow; for though he had known for some time that Bishop Burnet, Lord Shrewsbury, Admiral Herbert and many other leading Protestants were at that moment with the Prince of Orange, he now realized for the first time that there must also be a powerful and active faction against him at home. His eyes became suddenly open to the fact that he had been living in a fool's paradise. No time was to be lost, and orders were promptly issued to still further strengthen the army and the fleet. As it was impossible to obtain the number of sailors required, although the press-gang was freely used, drafts were obtained from the army. The whole country, from John of Groat's House to Land's End, resounded with the drums of recruiting parties. Five new regiments of Horse and six of Foot were raised in all haste.* The troops in Scotland were ordered to march South,† and a regiment of Dragoons and three battalions of Foot were summoned from Ireland. James hoped to collect an army of about 40,000 men, which he considered ample to meet the Prince of Orange, as indeed it would have been, had Churchill remained faithful to him.‡ James, expecting that William would land in the North, as he intended to do if the wind was from the south, sent three regiments of Horse and one of Dragoons to Ipswich, and two regiments of Horse and one of Dragoons to Colchester.§ Had William landed in

* These were nearly all disbanded by William on his accession. The Protestants in the regiments of Horse were formed into one regiment, which is now the 7th Dragoon Guards. Of the Foot regiments, there still remain the Bedfordshire, the Leicestershire, and the Lancashire Fusiliers.

† They consisted of a troop of Life Guards, a regiment of Horse, another of Dragoons, a regiment of Foot Guards, and two battalions of Foot, one of which is now the Royal Scots Fusiliers.

‡ James's Memoirs, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 159.

§ The regiments sent to Ipswich were Sir J. Lanier's (now the 1st Dragoon Guards), Major-General Lord Arran's (now the 4th Dragoon Guards), and Colonel Richard Hamilton's (now 5th Dragoon Guards) regiments of Horse, and the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons (now 3rd Hussars), under Colonel Cannon. Hamilton was a Roman Catholic.

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the North, Sir J. Lanier, who commanded one of these regiments, was to have made the other colonels prisoners and joined the invader. The fleet of thirty men-of-war and sixteen fire-ships, under the faithful Lord Dartmouth, was stationed at Harwich, where there was a garrison, and the regiment of Lord Montgomery—a Roman Catholic—occupied Hull. The regiments raised for Monmouth's rebellion were for the most part in good order, while the English army, as a whole, stood high in the estimation of foreign countries, and was looked upon as the best paid, the best appointed, and one of the best disciplined armies in Europe.*

When it was too late, James strove to reverse the illegal changes—religious and political—which he had introduced. $\frac{28}{8}$-$\frac{9}{16}$, 1688. He endeavoured to make friends with the Archbishop of Canterbury; he removed the suspension imposed upon $\frac{9}{12}$ 10, 1688. Compton; he made peace with the Universities, and proclaimed a general pardon, from which only sixteen persons were exempted. He also promised to restore to London and the other cities the ancient charters of which they had been robbed, and finally he issued writs for a new Parliament, which he promised to assemble as soon as the Prince of Orange should be disposed of.

$\frac{28}{7}$-$\frac{10}{11}$, 1688. Sunderland's treachery having at last become clear to James, he was summarily dismissed, and his place given to the Roman Catholic Lord Preston, on whose loyalty the King could thoroughly depend. It was now too late for him to obtain troops from France, for Lewis's army was already engaged in operations against the Emperor on the Upper Rhine; but he believed that his own army was amply large enough to ensure him victory. In October he $\frac{17}{27}$ 10, 1688. ordered the Lieutenants of Counties and other local officers to watch the coast, so that on the approach of the enemy all horses and cattle might be driven at least twenty miles inland.

* Lingard's 'History of England.' Clarke's 'James II.,' vol. ii., p. 71.

All England seemed in league to deceive this wretched King. 'Whitehall was never more crowded with people of quality who came to give assurance of their fidelity.'* But as they knelt to the King, their thoughts were with the Prince of Orange, and the officers, as they kissed his hand, were framing plans to desert him.

Notwithstanding the strong anti-Catholic feeling displayed upon several recent occasions by both soldiers and sailors, James still trusted in their personal loyalty to himself. Indeed, until the date of Lord Cornbury's desertion, it never seems to have dawned upon his mind that his army could or would, under any circumstances, be more loyal to England than to him personally. He believed that the influence of discipline alone would cause his soldiers to stand by him, no matter how many Bishops he might try, how many cities he might deprive of their charters, or what other despotic and un-English measures he might decree. He had done much for his soldiers, and to the last, he fondly trusted in their attachment to his person. As he wrote when about to quit England, 'Never any Prince took more care of his sea and land men, as I have done, and been so ill repaid by them!'† But he never fully understood how strong was the dread and hatred of Popery in all classes of the community, nor could he believe that any such feeling would ever make his soldiers and sailors unfaithful to him. Besides, he imagined that he had taken ample measures to keep in check any untoward spirit of Protestant independence, by the appointment of Catholic officers, and the enlistment of many private soldiers of that faith. He had brought over to England whole regiments of Irish Catholics, and he had taken the precaution of appointing Roman Catholic Governours to the Tower, Tilbury, Portsmouth, Plymouth and other important fortresses.

* Clarke's 'James II.,' vol. ii., p. 190.

† James to Lord Dartmouth, $\frac{10}{20}$ 12, 1688. Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 226.

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Those were stirring times in England. The King in fear for his Crown and for his head, not knowing whom to trust outside his own faith; and the conspirators upon whose invitation William was bound for England, trembling lest their treachery should be discovered before he could land to save them!

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THE INVASION OF ENGLAND BY WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

Many refuse to believe in the possibility of invasion—William's address to the English people—Admiral Herbert's address to the Fleet—William starts for England—Composition of his Army—A storm disperses his Fleet—The Fleet refitted, and William starts again and lands at Torbay — The naval conspirators send a captain to William's headquarters — Military arrangements to meet the invasion—James's Army—Desertion of Lord Cornbury and other officers—Effect upon James—He receives the Bishops—He starts for Salisbury—His nose-bleeding—Assembles a Council of Officers—Lords Forbes and Feversham recommend James to arrest Churchill and others.

THE possibility of a Dutch invasion was still generally discredited. The prosperous citizen always dislikes the contemplation of threatened national danger, and prefers to live in a state of peaceful optimism, lest his taxes should be raised in order to make his country safe from attack. The party politician seldom listens to warnings until the 'country in danger' has become a popular cry. Indeed, he is apt to denounce as professional alarmists those experienced soldiers and sailors who, knowing that under certain conditions the invasion of England is a very possible operation, would warn the country of the grave risks to which an inadequate army and navy expose her. Upon this occasion, many, King James included, pinned their faith upon the strength of the Channel fleet, under the faithful and loyal Dartmouth, and maintained that it was a complete safeguard against any descent upon the

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English coasts. He believed, as many do in these days, that with a fleet in the Channel, no hostile landing would be possible. But he soon learnt the unsoundness of this theory. Others argued that, as the despatch of an army to England would leave Holland at the mercy of France, no invasion need be apprehended; for it was well known that William was not the man to endanger his own country by any pursuit of personal ambition. As a matter of fact, the reason why William postponed his invasion till the beginning of winter was, that he did not dare to denude Holland of troops until he was satisfied that no French army could that year operate against him in the Low Countries.

It was further alleged that, as Holland and England were at peace, it was monstrous to imagine that the virtuous Dutch nation would, without provocation, commit the crime of attacking us. But the history of the world bristles with examples which prove the folly of depending for immunity from attack upon either treaties or national honour. 'The pious and immortal' William had given the most positive assurances that he contemplated no attack whatever upon England, and it was because James was fool enough to rely upon those assurances rather than upon his own power to resist invasion that he lost his Crown.

In the last week of September, when James did at last recognise that an invasion was impending, he issued a proclamation to warn his people of the coming danger. $\frac{28}{8}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1688. William's object was declared to be the subjugation of England to a foreign yoke, but the King relied upon the courage and loyalty of his subjects.

$\frac{30}{10}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1688. Some ten days before the invading army started from Holland William published his celebrated address to the English people, setting forth the nation's grievances, enlarging upon the insecurity of life and property under James's rule, and dwelling upon the evils and troubles from which the country suffered. He referred to the

suspicions regarding the Prince of Wales, inferring that he was not Queen Mary's son. He said that both he and his wife, the Princess Royal, as the lawful heirs to the Crown, took the deepest interest in the people's welfare, and were most anxious to protect their rights, and to re-establish their ancient laws. Many of the peers and other people of importance had, he added, invited him to England, and he had at last resolved to comply with their request. He would take a sufficient force as a protection against James and his priest-ridden councillors, but he would send back to Holland all his foreign troops, as soon as the peace of England had been secured. His intention was, as soon as possible, to assemble a free and lawful Parliament, to inquire into the legitimacy of the alleged Prince of Wales, and into all grievances, and, finally, he promised to uphold the Protestant religion, and to protect the people from injury at the hands of his soldiers. He further published an appeal to the English army, calling upon all Protestant soldiers to help in his attempt to secure the liberty of their country. Admiral Herbert, one of the conspirators who had but recently joined him, issued a similarly worded appeal to the sailors of all ranks, in which he said, 'Ruin or infamy must inevitably attend you, if you do not join with the Prince in the common cause for the defence of your religion and liberties.' It would be infamous, he added, if they suffered him to fail, and that if he succeeded all those who did not join him would be dismissed from the navy.*

Mary was fully persuaded of the justice and lawfulness of her husband's attempt upon England.† A firm believer in the efficacy of prayer, she earnestly besought God to

* Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals,' vol. iii., p. 118. Herbert's proclamation to the fleet was addressed 'To all Commanders of Ships and Seamen in His Majesty's Fleet.' It was dated from 'On board the *Leyden*, in the Goree.'

† Burnet, who saw her shortly before William sailed, records this fact. See Echard's 'Revolution,' p. 153.

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bless and direct the expedition, and public supplications to the same effect were offered up four times a day by her orders. Two great influences were ever at work within her: an absorbing devotion to Protestantism, and an earnest love for her cold-blooded and unsympathetic husband.*

Oct. 10, 1688. Before William embarked, on October 19, he took a
Oct. 20, 1688. tender and solemn farewell of the States General, calling God to witness that 'he went to England with no other intentions but those he had set out in his Declaration.'† His fleet consisted of 50 men-of-war, 25 frigates, 25 fire-ships, and about 500 transports. This large number of merchant-men was hired in Holland in the short space of three days. Even two centuries ago it was possible thus hurriedly to collect sufficient transport for the invasion of England.‡

Much to the annoyance of the Dutch naval officers, William gave the command of his fleet to Admiral Herbert. The Prince's ship carried the English flag, inscribed with these words, 'The Protestant religion and liberties of England.' Underneath was William's family motto, 'Je maintiendrai.'

The army intended for the invasion of England consisted of one troop of Life Guards, one regiment of Horse Guards, five regiments of Horse, eight of Dragoons, one of Foot Guards, and fifteen battalions of the Line, including the six British regiments in the Dutch service, which were by far the best of all.§ These English troops were commanded by a Scotchman, General McKay, Churchill's great

* All who wish to know Mary's character should read 'Lettres et Memoires de Marie Reine d'Angleterre, Epouse de Guillaume III.,' La Haye, 1880, edited by the Countess of Bentinck. Mary wrote well and clearly.

† Burnet, Book IV., p. 782.

‡ Echard's 'Revolution,' p. 154, MDCCXXV. Burnet, Book IV., p. 781.

§ Three of these regiments were English and three Scotch. Tollemache, who was killed in the attack on Brest in 1694, commanded one of them, which is now the Northumberland Fusiliers. Another is now the Warwickshire Regiment.

friend. There were in all about 3,600 Cavalry and 10,600 Foot. Some three hundred excellent officers, who had been driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, swelled the ranks of William's army, amongst them the aged Marshal Schomberg, one of the ablest of European generals. Many English officers who had left or been turned out of James's army also accompanied the expedition, and 20,000 muskets were embarked to arm a British contingent, should it be found necessary to raise troops in England. This was but a small army for so serious an operation, and without the sympathy of the English people the attempt would have been ridiculous; however, William felt that, as Churchill was on his side, he had little to fear from James's troops.

The morning after sailing a terrible storm began, which lasted some days, and damaged so many ships that the fleet had to put back. Well aware of the importance of deceiving your enemy, William circulated exaggerated accounts of the injuries sustained, and these reports found easy credence at the English Court, where James and those about him were always ready to believe what was pleasing to them. Despondency gave place to joy and laughter, and it was generally accepted that William's attempt had failed. James was at dinner in Whitehall Palace when he heard the news, and exclaimed, 'At last the wind has declared itself a Papist,' adding, 'it is not to be wondered at, for the Host has been exposed several days.'* Characteristically enough, he immediately revoked some of the concessions he had made to his people under the dread of imminent invasion. In London expectation was on tiptoe. The City was in a ferment; news was eagerly asked for at every moment, and business was almost entirely suspended. Nothing was talked of but the impending invasion, and even during the night men rushed from their houses to see which way the weathercocks were pointing. 'A Protestant wind,' as that from the

* Echard's 'History of the Revolution,' p. 155.

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east was now called, was anxiously and universally looked for.*

The damage done by the storm was quickly repaired, and the Dutch fleet, though with fewer transports, again
Nov. 11, 1688. put to sea before a strong easterly wind. Soon after starting, Admiral Herbert learnt from an English vessel
Nov. 11, 1688. that Lord Dartmouth with a fleet of sixty-one vessels, thirty-eight of which were line-of-battle ships, besides some eighteen fire-ships, was anchored at the Gunfleet.† Sailing down Channel, William's fleet reached Dartmouth on November 4, his own birthday and that of his mother, and also the anniversary of his marriage and of the death of his father. During the night the ships were carried by a strong wind somewhat too far to the westward, but they at last anchored in Torbay on the following morning. The disembarkation began at once, and on Tuesday, November 6, William with his army marched for Exeter, and entered the ancient capital of the West in great state on the
Nov. 11, 1688. following Thursday.

The 'Protestant wind' from the east-south-east which carried William's invading ships into Torbay prevented Lord Dartmouth's fleet, which had moved to the Downs, from intercepting them. He succeeded, however, in getting under way the day after the Dutch fleet had passed Dover, and started in pursuit, but before Portland Bill was reached heavy weather forced him to take refuge in St. Helen's and Spithead. Here he became aware that Admiral Herbert's appeal to the sailors had taken effect, and that there was a marked unwillingness in the fleet to act against the Prince

* It is generally said that the weathercock on the Banqueting House in Whitehall was erected by James at this time, so that he could see from his palace windows which way the wind was blowing each morning and evening. In Lillibullero, the popular ballad of the day, William's expected arrival is thus referred to:

'Oh! but why does he stay behind?
By me sowl 'tis a Protestant wind!'

† Echard's 'Revolution,' p. 155, and Campbell's 'Naval History,' vol. ii. The Gunfleet was then an important anchorage behind an outlying bank north of the Thames.

of Orange, whom the country welcomed with acclamation. Dartmouth, the hard-drinking Admiral, was loyal to the last, and the orders he gave his captains were to fight the Dutch wherever they met them.* On November 17 he wrote to Lord Berkeley that he expected to reach and fight the enemy in Torbay on the following day. But for many months there had been a strong party in the fleet in William's favour, of which Captain George Churchill, of the *Newcastle*, and Captains Hastings and Matthew Aylmer were the moving spirits, whilst the Duke of Grafton, Lord Berkeley, and Admiral Sir J. Barry knew of its existence.† Herbert most probably was in the secret when he issued his address to the sailors.

These traitors to James even went so far as to send Captain Byng to William's headquarters at Sherborne to ask for instructions, where Lord Churchill was about the first person he met. Byng returned to the fleet with a letter from William to Dartmouth, and with gratifying assurances in William's name to the officers generally. It is, however, tolerably certain that, had Dartmouth succeeded in intercepting William's fleet in the Channel, his crews, who had many old scores to settle with the Dutch for defeats inflicted upon us at sea, would have fought stoutly for James. And, further, notwithstanding the plot amongst the officers, there is reason to believe that the loyalty of the men was not seriously affected until it became known that many officers and soldiers of the army at Salisbury had deserted to the Prince of Orange.

The news of William's landing spread with lightning rapidity through the length and breadth of England. Every county blazed with bonfires, and all classes, high and low,

* It must be admitted that Lords Dartmouth and Feversham and General Edward Sackville were amongst the few Protestants who remained faithful to James in 1688. The Jesuit Father d'Orleans, in his work on the Revolution, hints a doubt, in which James also in his memoirs concurs, as to Dartmouth's loyalty.

† James's 'Memoirs,' vol. i., p. 158 of Macpherson. Captain Churchill was the Duke of Marlborough's brother.

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were in transports of joy at the arrival of their deliverer. In the midst of this general outburst of jubilation, why should Churchill be expected to hold aloof? The time had now come when all Englishmen must decide whether they would or would not surrender their civil liberties and their constitutional rights. Would they or would they not obey the unlawful orders of their legitimate King? That was the question, and a very serious one it was, and always will be, for a people under such circumstances to decide. It is one thing to submit to a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Napoleon, whose despotism often ensures peaceful prosperity at home and strength and respect abroad, but it is a very different matter for a people to surrender their rights to a priest-ridden bigot like James II., incapable alike of earning confidence at home or of securing respect from abroad.

The alteration in the place selected for a landing was a serious disappointment to those of William's friends who had gone North to meet him, and accounts in a great measure for the time which elapsed before any number of leading men arrived to greet him.* William was much put out at this delay, and at the small number, even of common people, who joined his standard. With the fate of Monmouth's adherents still fresh in their memory, few were disposed to risk their lives in his cause, and many were 'much troubled with dreams of gibbets.'†

:3 11, 1688.

When the news reached London that the great Dutch fleet of warships and transports, sailing westward, had been seen from the cliffs of Dover by crowds of excited spectators, there was joy in the City of London, but fear and trembling in the palace of Whitehall. The Duke of Berwick was at once ordered to Portsmouth, of which he was Governour, with three battalions of Foot Guards, the King's Regiment of Horse, the Blues, and one hundred Horse Grenadier Guards. If upon arrival at Portsmouth it was found that the Dutch fleet had gone further westward, these troops

* Kennett, note to p. 528.

† Ellis's original letters, vol. iv., pp. 142, 143, second series.

were to march on Salisbury. The Queen's Regiment of Horse proceeded to Warminster, where James had ordered his advanced guard to take up position under Major-General Kirke, whilst his main body assembled at Salisbury under the temporary command of Sir J. Lanier.* The Royal Regiment of Foot, two battalions, also marched for Warminster.† As soon as it was known that William had landed, the cavalry regiments at Hounslow and in the neighbourhood of London were ordered to Salisbury by forced marches.‡

This is the first occasion upon which we hear of the Horse being ordered to leave their defensive armour in store. Some did so, others retained it, whilst in several regiments the officers alone kept their breast and back pieces.§ Before the troops left London James reviewed them in Hyde Park. Churchill was present, and is accused by an enemy of being seen 'to loll out his tongue, and to laugh at the whole proceeding.'‖

* The Queen's Regiment of Horse is now the King's Dragoon Guards.

† Now the Royal Scots. Each battalion was 900 strong. None of this regiment went over to William. When ordered to retire behind the Thames, it moved by Devizes to Windsor, which it reached November 29. It subsequently mutinied when ordered to Holland, as described further on.

‡ The cavalry from the neighbourhood of London consisted of two squadrons of the Royal Dragoons under Lord Cornbury, the 8th Regiment of Horse under Colonel Thomas Langston (it was then commonly known as the Princess Anne's Regiment, and sometimes as the Duke of St. Alban's, after its Colonel), and two squadrons of Sir J. Fenwick's regiment (now 3rd Dragoon Guards) under Lieutenant-Colonel Sutherland. The 8th Horse, raised by Lord Scarsdale in June, 1685, was disbanded after the battle of Steenkirk, where it had done good service but lost heavily. It took part in the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim. Its commander, Thomas Langston, died of fever at Lisburn in the Irish campaign of 1689 under Schomberg. He was succeeded by his brother Francis, who became a distinguished officer, and died 6, 3, 1723. Both these brothers were strong Protestants and Whigs.

§ Berwick wrote to ask for armour for his own regiment, the King having allowed it to be again taken into use. Historical MSS., Second Report, p. 2.

‖ Lord Ailesbury's 'Memoirs,' p. 185.

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Lord Feversham was to command the army and to accompany James to Salisbury. Until their arrival Berwick was to command the troops ordered to assemble there and in its neighbourhood. Berwick's orders were dated November 6, but many days elapsed before they reached him at Portsmouth. In his memoirs he accuses Mr. Blathwayte, the Secretary for War, of having intentionally kept these orders back, in order to give Lord Cornbury and other officers time to join the Prince of Orange.

We have a minute detail of the army with which James hoped to repel the Dutch invasion. It consisted of five so-called 'troops'—they were regiments in reality—of Life Guards, sixteen regiments of Horse, five of Dragoons, four of Foot Guards, and twenty-seven of Foot—in all about 37,000 men. But of these, the 3,700 men drawn from the Scotch establishment only reached Carlisle when James arrived at Salisbury, and but few of the 2,800 from Ireland had yet passed Chester,* nor had the artillery which left London on November 10 yet arrived.† The slowness of their progress was doubtless due to the treachery of Sunderland and Blathwayte. The force to assemble at Salisbury was still further reduced by about 7,000 men, whom it was considered necessary to leave in London to overawe that dangerous centre of Protestantism. James's plan was to push forward his Horse and Dragoons to delay the Prince's advance until all the Royal army had assembled at Salisbury. This plan would also restrict the enemy's operations to the Devonshire-Somerset peninsula—a matter of some consequence, as the King hoped thereby to check the spread of William's influence, and to prevent many of the disaffected from

* The Royal Irish Regiment of Foot reached Salisbury about the same time as King James. Seven of the thirteen companies of which the Irish Guards consisted came over and were given new arms from the Tower. They are described as 'tall, sightly young men.' Additional MSS., No. 3,929, L. 47 B.M. These men were eventually transferred to the service of the Emperor of Germany.

† Appendix to Fifth Report of Historical MSS., p. 379.

joining him. But of the cavalry which reached Salisbury, the officers commanding the King's Regiment of Horse (the Blues), St. Albans' Regiment of Horse, and the Royal Dragoons, only waited for a favourable opportunity to join the invaders with as many men and officers as they could induce to desert. Colonel Sutherland, who commanded Fenwick's Horse, was not in the conspiracy against the King.

Before the troops left London for Salisbury, it had been arranged by those colonels who were in the conspiracy that they were to take the first good opportunity of deserting, and of carrying off to the Prince's headquarters as many junior officers and soldiers as they could induce to go. Arrived at Salisbury, they devised and carried out the following plan of operations. It was given out generally that orders for an advance upon the enemy would reach Salisbury by the post expected on November 11. The post-bag arrived at midnight, and Colonel Langston, in command of St. Albans' Regiment, opened it in the presence of his officers. What were apparently marching orders from London—cunningly introduced by him amongst the letters—were carried to Lord Cornbury, who was then in command at Salisbury. Having read or seemed to read the orders, he at once announced that the three cavalry regiments present—whose commanding officers were in the conspiracy—were to advance on the enemy at five o'clock the following morning. They set out accordingly, and, marching for two days with but few short halts to refresh men and horses, reached Axminster, a distance of fifty miles, on the afternoon of the 13th. At Axminster, which is only six miles from Honiton, then William's headquarters, they were joined by the Earl of Abingdon, Sir W. Clerges, and about thirty other gentlemen. To keep their intentions still secret and deceive the men and officers who were not in the plot, Lord Cornbury issued orders to beat up the invaders' quarters at Honiton that night, and accordingly, soon after sunset, the three regiments were again on the march. The Prince of

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Orange, apprised of this by Cornbury, sent out some cavalry to meet and conduct them to his camp, where they were received with open arms by two battalions of infantry.* When the men took in the situation, most of the Blues and of the Royal Dragoons galloped back to rejoin the King at Salisbury, but the whole of the Duke of St. Albans' Horse followed their commanding officer and joined the Prince of Orange.† This desertion was not only a loss of fighting-power, but it had a demoralizing effect on the rest of James's army. Every man began to suspect his comrade, and the infection of disloyalty, once caught, quickly spread throughout the ranks. It also gave great encouragement to the country gentlemen to join William.

James was at Windsor, and about to dine, when the news reached him that Lord Cornbury and others had deserted to the enemy, with some of their men. It was a terrible shock to him. He was in no humour for dinner; 'so, calling for a piece of bread and a glass of wine, went to consult what measures' should be taken.‡ At the same moment Lords Sunderland, Godolphin, and Churchill 'were seen unawares going hand in hand along the gallery, in the greatest transport of joy imaginable.'§ This disastrous intelligence caused James for the moment to change his plans. He ordered the artillery train, his own equipage, and the troops then on the march for Salisbury, to halt, as he now hesitated about going there himself. His reliance had been in his army, and he at last realized that it could no longer be trusted. In reporting this serious news from Salisbury, Feversham pointed out in his letter

* Colonel Tollemache commanded one of these regiments, which is now the Northumberland Fusiliers. He had been one of those who were active in the conspiracy against James, and had recently bolted to Holland, whence he returned to England with William, who had given him command of a regiment of infantry to fight against his old master James.

† This regiment, afterwards the 8th Horse, was disbanded in 1693.

‡ See Macpherson.

§ Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 218.

how important it was that the King should at once appear amongst his troops; James, after much hesitation, accordingly resolved to set out forthwith.

Before he did so, all the Protestant peers in town sent him a petition by the hands of the two Archbishops, in which they besought him to call a free Parliament together, and thereby save the country from civil war and bloodshed. The Roman Catholics about James dreaded Parliament as much as they dreaded William's arrival in London, and as the King cordially disliked the proposal, he was easily persuaded to reject it. The refusal sealed his doom; it was his last chance, and he missed it. Thenceforward it was evident to all classes of the people that the only hope for liberty and Protestantism rested on the Prince of Orange, to whom every heart went out when he proclaimed that he had come to uphold the laws, liberties, and religion of England. Protestants in high position now only looked for favourable opportunities to join William, for all felt that a victory for James would place them at the mercy of an implacable tyrant. Three years only had elapsed since Monmouth's defeat, and the horrors which, by order of James, had followed upon that event were still unforgotten.

On the 17th of November the King, with Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Dumbarton, Lord Churchill, the French Ambassador, the Count de Roye,* and a numerous staff, including a Protestant chaplain for the sake of appearances, left Windsor for the headquarters of the army at Salisbury,† which he reached in two days, disordered in mind, fatigued in body, and troubled with a copious bleeding at the nose, probably the result of intense excitement. He took up his quarters in the Bishop's palace.‡ To Churchill and the others who had

$\frac{17}{27}$ 11, 1688.

$\frac{19}{29}$ 11, 1688.

* Lord Feversham's brother.

† The King's escort consisted of a detachment of the Horse Guards and the Irish Dragoons.

‡ Kennett; *London Gazette;* Echard, p. 175.

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made up their minds to join the Prince of Orange the journey must have been trying, with deceit in their faces and treachery in their hearts. When James reached Salisbury, William had already marched into Sherborne. Why the King allowed so many days to elapse, after hearing of the landing at Torbay, before he set out to join his army, is a question not easy to answer. The delay argued a want of vigour and confidence that was injurious to his cause, and also gave rise to the idea that he feared to encounter his lion-hearted son-in-law.

$\frac{7}{17}$ 11, 1688. Lord Churchill was promoted to be a Lieutenant-General before leaving London, and on arriving at Salisbury he took over the command of a brigade of about 5,000 men. It was asserted by many who were aware of the circumstances at the time, that had James marched against William at once when he reached Salisbury, his soldiers would have fought for him.* Lord Forbes pressed the King to attack forthwith; for, as he truly said, soldiers only desert when left inactive; they do not do so when marching upon an enemy.† The foreigner Feversham did not possess the qualities of a General, and had no influence with his troops; but had there been at the King's side a real soldier of Churchill's military capacity, and who preferred the King's interests to the liberty and religion of the English people, how different even then might have been the history of the time! The military student will readily understand how much we are indebted for the successful issue of the Revolution to Marlborough's desertion.

$\frac{20}{30}$ 11, 1688. James reviewed his troops at Salisbury and made them a gracious speech on the day after his arrival. To every soldier whom Cornbury had endeavoured to carry over to William, but who had returned to his allegiance, he gave a gratuity, and said that any who wished to quit his service were at liberty to do so. In order to inspire the troops with confidence, an immediate attack upon the

* Lord Onslow's note in Burnet, vol. ii., p. 791.

† Memoirs of the Earls of Granard.

enemy's troops was talked of, and to strengthen this idea James announced his intention of going the next day—Wednesday—to Warminster, a small town some twenty-one miles off, to inspect the advanced guard, which was under the command of General Kirke.* The King was to have travelled in his son Berwick's carriage, but was prevented from going at the last moment by a return of the bleeding, from which he had again suffered on the previous evening, immediately after the review, and to which he appears to have been subject.† James avers: 'It was generally believed afterwards that my Lord Churchill, Kirke, Trelawney, and some others in that quarter, had layd a design to seize the King, either in his going thither or coming back, and so have carried him to the Prince of Orange.'‡ Now, this statement, which has been repeated over and over again, rests upon no good evidence. Lord Ailesbury, though, in his 'Memoirs,' declares it to be true 'on my own certain knowledge';§ but he wrote many years after the events he describes,

* This advanced guard consisted of the following regiments: The third troop of Life Guards (disbanded in 1746; Lord Churchill was its Captain in 1688); the Queen Consort's Regiment of Horse, now the 1st or King's Dragoon Guards; Werden's Regiment of Horse (disbanded in 1690); the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons, now the 3rd Hussars; two battalions of Dumbarton's, now the Royal Scots; Kirke's Regiment, now the Queen's; and Trelawney's, now the King's Own or Royal Lancashire Regiment.

† See Echard's 'History of the Revolution,' p. 175. In James's own account, in vol. i. of Macpherson, he says he 'was not naturally subject to' this bleeding, but there is good evidence to show that he had suffered from it before. In Luttrell for 7, 1, 168$\frac{8}{9}$ it is stated 'the King of England continues at St. Germains, and hath lately had a violent fit of bleeding again,' and in another place he says that James, 'in his way to Brest,' was said to have been taken 'with a paralytick fitt and a violent bleeding for some time.' In fact, he may be said to have died of it. His brother Charles also died of apoplexy.

‡ Macpherson, in his wish to favour James, has garbled this passage in a most dishonest way. See Macpherson's Papers, vol. i., p. 162. and Cox, vol. i., note to p. 40. Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 222.

§ Lord Ailesbury's 'Memoirs,' p. 189.

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and in so many instances misstates facts, that I do not think any reliance can be placed upon his uncorroborated testimony. It was, in fact, a mere camp rumour set on foot at James's headquarters, when Churchill went over to the Prince of Orange.

$\frac{19}{29}$ 11, 1688. On the 19th William left Exeter for Axminster, and learning there that James had reached Salisbury, he pushed

$\frac{20}{30}$ 11, 1688. some troops forward towards that place. On the 20th a skirmish took place at Wincanton—about thirty miles west of Salisbury—between an advanced patrol of the invading army and a detachment of Irish troops under the gallant Sarsfield. Several Irish were killed and wounded, but with the exception of this, and of another trifling skirmish at Reading, in which again a few Irish were killed, the Revolution was accomplished without fighting.

$\frac{21}{1}$-$\frac{11}{12}$, 1688. When James relinquished his intention of going to Warminster, he assembled a Council of superior officers. Some, including Churchill, urged him to fight; indeed, it is said that he pressed James to adopt this course with a view to remove the suspicion under which he felt that he then lay. Feversham, his brother the Count de Roye and Lord Dumbarton advised James not to fight, but to fall back behind the Thames.* Believing that everything depended upon the army, whose fighting value had been somewhat rudely shaken by the desertion of Lord Cornbury and others, James made a touching appeal to the loyalty of the officers present at the Council. He tells us in his memoirs: 'They all seemed to be moved at this discourse, and vowed they would serve him to the last drop of their blood—the Duke of Grafton (James's nephew) and my Lord Churchill were the first that made this attestation, and the first who, to their eternal infamy, broke it afterwards, as well as Kirke, Trelawney, etc., who were no less lavish of their promises on this occasion, though as false and

* Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 223, and Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 201.

treacherous as the rest in the end.'* He forgot to add that *he* also had been equally guilty of treachery and broken vows. If this statement be strictly accurate, truth and honesty would indeed seem to have had no home in England then, for if absent from the officers of the Army and Navy, they need not be looked for elsewhere. There is no doubt that Grafton, Churchill, the Prince of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, Generals Kirke, Trelawney, and a host of other officers, were only awaiting a favourable opportunity to desert to the Prince of Orange. They could not, of course, help attending a meeting called by the King, and when in his presence they could hardly tell him to his face of their intention to desert, besides, the statement as to their loud protestations of loyalty is probably exaggerated. From what we know of Churchill's character, I think it may be fairly assumed that he confined himself upon this occasion, as in his letter to James, to asserting his willingness to hazard both life and fortune in his endeavours to preserve the King's person and lawful rights. Immediately after the meeting most of the superior officers, including some of those who had just assured James of their loyalty, went in a body to Lord Feversham and gave him to understand 'that however devoted they were to his Majesty's service, they could not in conscience fight against a prince who was come over with no other design than to procure the calling of a free Parliament for the security of their religion and liberties.'†

Lord Forbes, in command of what is now the Royal Irish Regiment, had reached Salisbury on Wednesday, and supped that evening with Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, and the other officers concerned in the plot against James. In

* James says this took place at the Council of officers he held in London before setting out for Salisbury, but I am inclined to think it was at the Council he held at Salisbury, as described above. Amongst other reasons for believing this, neither Kirke nor Trelawney was in London the day before James started for the West.

† Ralph, vol. i., p. 1044. Echard's 'Revolution,' p. 176.

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very guarded terms they all strove to win him and the Duke of Northumberland—who commanded the second troop of Life Guards—to the cause of the Prince of Orange.* Forbes went forthwith to the King, told him what had passed at supper, and advised him to arrest the conspirators and transfer their commands to men whose fidelity could be relied upon.† But James refused to believe the story or to arrest the incriminated officers, although urged by Lord Feversham on his knees to do so in order to strike terror into the other conspirators.‡

* This troop is now the second regiment of Life Guards. This was George, Duke of Northumberland, the third illegitimate son of Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland. He remained loyal until James quitted London on December 11. He was removed from command of this second troop of Life Guards by William III. in April, 1689. The Duke of Grafton, his full brother, went over at Salisbury to the Prince of Orange.

† 'I have heard wise men say that if James II. had turned out the old officers and made new ones amongst the common soldiers, King William would not easily have brought about his enterprise; at least, there would have been more bloodshed.'—Speech of the Duke of Wharton in the House of Lords in 1724. See 'Parliamentary History,' vol. viii., p. 389.

‡ Dr. King's 'Anecdotes of his own Times,' p. 352. He asserts that Lord Granard (Lord Forbes in 1688) told him this story.

CHAPTER XLIX.

LORD CHURCHILL DESERTS KING JAMES.

Churchill's letter to James announcing his desertion—Other officers desert also—The infection spreads to the Navy—James orders his Army to fall back behind the Thames—Prince George deserts.

To Lord Churchill the night of November 21 must have been one of mental torture, for the moment had come when he must either desert and sacrifice the King, or renounce his own religious convictions. Few can pretend to realize what his determination must have cost him. His conduct has been attributed by some to a cold-blooded self-interest, which it is said outweighed all other considerations. But surely this view can hardly be maintained, looking to the fact that the step which he took was in direct opposition to his personal interests. The time had come for declaring himself, if he were to carry out his long-announced intention of standing by the Protestant cause. He must now desert the master whose fortunes he had followed for no less than twenty-three years—the master who had raised him step by step until he had at last become a peer and a Lieutenant-General. From his very boyhood James had helped and befriended him. Was he now to use the position he had acquired, and the influence in the army which it gave him, to destroy his benefactor? When the supreme moment came, it was but natural that he should feel the weight of the decision which he had deliberately taken some three years before. It was not that James had been a peculiarly

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indulgent or open-handed master, for when we consider the scale upon which Court favourites were usually rewarded, it does not appear that Churchill had been treated with undue liberality. Personal kindness and geniality have never been attributed to James, except by those who seek to make out a case against Churchill. He himself was under no delusion as to the nature of James's heart and disposition. He knew his master thoroughly, and that master's conduct after the battle of Sedgemoor had revealed him in his true colours. Still, the severance of old ties and associations touched the cool-headed, calculating, though tender-hearted Churchill. To those in distress, he was always a kind friend, but, except towards his own family, he was generally unsentimental in disposition; but he would not have been human had he left James at Salisbury without sorrow, anxiety, and distress of mind, from all which we know he suffered.

The conspirators assembled at Salisbury felt that they were suspected. Delay might imperil their safety, and, as far as Churchill was concerned, possibly the success of the whole plot. No time, therefore, was to be lost. That very night Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and some other officers, with about twenty troopers of the Royal Dragoons, quietly left Salisbury for Axminster, where they joined William on November 23.*

$\frac{21}{1}$-$\frac{11}{12}$, 1688.

Churchill wrote the following letter to James when he left him:

'SIR,—Since men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act contrary to their interests, and though my dutiful behaviour to your Majesty in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services much overpaid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions, yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of Government, may reasonably convince your

* Burnet. This Bishop was with William at the time. Berkeley was equerry to the Princess Anne.

Majesty and the world that I am actuated by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and interest as to desert your Majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest obligations to your Majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion (which no good man can oppose), and with which I am instructed nothing can come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majesty has hitherto represented those unhappy designs which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your Majesty's true interest and the Protestant religion; but as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect, so I will alway with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights, with all the tender concerns and dutiful respect that becomes, Sir, your Majesty's most dutiful and most obliged subject and servant,—CHURCHILL.'*

Let those who are disposed to join in the condemnation under which Marlborough has so long lain, carefully read this straightforward, but touching letter. It is a clear, manly exposition of his feelings, and requires no comment to point its meaning. Whatever his enemies may say to the contrary, its expressions are all his own, and they are not those of a villain, but the plain outspoken sentiments of a man driven to treason against his King by that King's treason against his country, and driven to leave the master he had long and faithfully served by that master's flagrant betrayal of his sacred trust. He was indeed justified in saying that under no other Government could he ever hope to 'enjoy the great advantages' he possessed under James.

It was a curious coincidence that he should join William

* State Papers, Dom., first bundle for 1689.

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in the immediate neighbourhood of his own birthplace, to which, also, his military operations during Monmouth's rebellion had been chiefly restricted. Far-off recollections of a childhood passed in poverty must have crowded upon his memory as he rode into Axminster; and the familiar scene must have recalled to his mind tales of fights between Royalist and Roundhead, to which as a boy he had eagerly listened in Ash Hall. And he, the son of a devoted Cavalier who had fought and suffered for his King, is now compelled by his conscience to desert the cause of that King's son, his own lawful Sovereign! Had he been the most hard-hearted of men, the feelings and recollections which then filled his brain must have moved him strongly as he rode into the headquarters of the foreign Prince now in arms against his master.

This was the great turning-point in his life. Actuated by lofty motives, and in what was to him a sacred cause, he was breaking away from the patron of his boyhood, the friend of his mature years. He, a Cavalier, was becoming a traitor, in the common acceptation of the term, and throwing in his lot with his King's greatest enemy. James and Churchill alike suffered for their steady adherence at this epoch to the faith that was within them. One lost his Crown, and died in exile the despised dependent upon the bounty of a foreign sovereign; and the other, though he lived to be the foremost man in Europe, died detested and vilified by the nation which he made great and famous.

Churchill's desertion was a heavy blow to James, for, apart from all personal feelings, he well knew what great influence his former favourite possessed in the army. When told that Churchill had left to join William, he turned to Feversham, who stood near, and said: 'Feversham, I little expected this severe stroke; but you, my lord, understood him better than I did, when you advised me yesterday to secure him and the others who have gone off with him. My only resource now is in Providence; I can no longer count on my troops, who no doubt have been

corrupted by the pernicious advice of their disloyal officers.'*

From this moment the number of deserters increased rapidly. Brigadier-General Trelawney, with Colonel Charles Churchill and some of his non-commissioned officers and men, quitted Warminster to join William. On some frivolous pretext, Kirke, when ordered to march to Devizes, refused, and was sent a prisoner to London before he had found an opportunity of deserting.†

James now sent General the Earl of Dumbarton with a couple of squadrons of Horse, to bring back the remainder of the four battalions from Warminster. But no officer of influence was left to strike a blow for the King. Churchill's defection had turned the scale hopelessly against him, and the army could no longer be depended on. 'Abundance of officers are gone, but not that proportion of soulgers,' wrote one on the spot.‡ As might, however, be expected, the discipline and military spirit of those who remained with their colours were seriously shaken.

James now heard that the garrison of Plymouth had declared for William, and that the infection had spread to the Navy, for upon the arrival there of Lord Churchill's brother George, in command of the *Newcastle*, he also had deserted. The King sent Lord Dartmouth a warrant to arrest him, but two days afterwards it became known that Lord Bath had seized Plymouth for the Prince of Orange, so no further steps were taken in the matter.§

James knew not which way to turn or whom to trust, and when told that Marshal Schomberg was advancing upon Salisbury, he gave orders for the retreat of his army, and set out himself for Windsor. The Foot were to retire $\frac{22}{2}$-$\frac{11}{12}$, 1688.

* Lediard's 'Marlborough,' vol. i., p. 52.

† Brought before the Council in London, he was discharged, 'nothing being positive against him.'—Luttrell's Diary of December, 1688.

‡ Sir J. Bramston, p. 336.

§ Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 214.

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behind the Thames, whilst Feversham, with the bulk of the Horse and Dragoons, was to remain south of the river at Reading as long as possible, so as to eat up the forage, which might otherwise fall into the hands of the invading army. Though no coward, James lacked the highest kind of courage. He could not play a losing game, and at this crisis he displayed neither firmness nor spirit. Lord Danby, who knew James well, when he heard that William was advancing towards London, repeated a former saying of 'Schomberg and other old officers,' that James was at heart a coward: he was sure, he said, that James would not meet the Prince.*

William, having stayed four days at Axminster, moved forward towards Salisbury, taking Churchill with him.† $\frac{4}{14}$ 12, 1688. He rode into the town escorted by those who had joined him, and took up his residence in the Bishop's palace.‡ His adherents were now numerous enough to be formed into three regiments, Lord Mordaunt, Sir John Guise, Bart., and Sir Robert Peyton being selected as the three Colonels.§ Several independent companies of pikemen 28, 2, 1689. were also raised, and afterwards formed into what is now the Yorkshire Regiment.

The Somerset gentry who joined William stated in their published 'Declaration' that they had done so 'for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for maintaining the ancient government and the laws and liberties of England,' etc. They swore to stand by William 'until our religion, our laws and liberties are so far secured to us by a free Parliament that we shall be no more in danger of falling under Popery and slavery.'

Prince George of Denmark—lately made a Knight of

* Echard's 'Revolution,' p. 171.

† On his way he lodged at Wincanton, 'in the house of one, Mr. Churchill, a merchant.'—'Harleian Miscellany,' vol. i., p. 439.

‡ Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii., p. 215.

§ Sir Robert Peyton's commission as Colonel is dated $\frac{20}{30}$ 11, 1688, and his regiment is now the Lancashire Fusiliers.

the Garter—had left London with the King, intending, like Churchill, to join William upon the first favourable opportunity. Why he did not accompany Churchill and the Duke of Grafton is not known. Supping with James at Andover during the retreat from Salisbury, as the news of each fresh defection from the King was announced, the Prince said, 'Est-il possible?'—he never learnt to speak English intelligibly. That night he and the young Duke of Ormond, with some others, started for William's headquarters, and when this was reported to James in the morning he exclaimed, 'How!—has "Est-il possible" gone off too? I only mind him as connected with my dearest child, otherwise the loss of a stout trooper would have been greater.' $\frac{24}{1}$-$\frac{11}{12}$, 1688.

James distributed his army north of the Thames, at Maidenhead, Windsor, Staines, Egham, Chertsey, Colbrook, etc., and went himself to London. His oldest servants were deserting him, and he began to think that he, too, might share the fate which overtook his father. $\frac{20}{10}$-$\frac{11}{12}$, 1688.

CHAPTER L.

KING JAMES LEAVES ENGLAND FOR EVER.

The Princess Anne flies at the approach of her father—An account of her proceedings—James calls a Council in Whitehall—He resolves to leave England—His order to disband the Army—William reaches Windsor—Churchill arranges for the distribution of the troops in London—The Act of Association—The Convention Parliament—The question of a Regency—William and Mary declared King and Queen—They resent Lady Churchill's influence over Anne—Churchill reorganizes the Army, and is created Earl of Marlborough.

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THE first news which greeted the dejected King upon reaching Whitehall was that the Princess Anne had fled from London. Both his daughters had now turned against him; and it is not surprising that he shed tears as he exclaimed, 'God help me; even my children have forsaken me!'* Their desertion was not only a grievous shock to him as a parent, but a disastrous blow to his cause. Both were known to be sound Protestants, and many who might otherwise have held back from fighting against the Lord's anointed threw in their lot with William when the Princesses set the example. To account for her sudden disappearance, Anne left a letter, addressed to her stepmother, which discloses a baseness and a refinement of perfidy which it would be hard to match. To put it plainly, 'Good Queen Anne' lied the more effectually to destroy

* Barillon, who had returned from Salisbury to London the same day as the King, mentions in one of his letters to Lewis XIV. having heard that Anne had fled when he was passing through Staines that morning.

her own father. Her flight was planned by Lady Churchill as part of the arranged scheme, and was put into execution as soon as Prince George's defection became known. To avoid suspicion, Anne retired to rest as usual on the previous night, Mrs. Danvers, her lady-in-waiting, sleeping in the anteroom. The following morning the Princess was not to be found; her bed had not been slept in, and the clothes she had worn the day before, even to her shoes and stockings, were left behind. It appears that when James was first told of Churchill's desertion, immediate orders were given to have his lodgings in Whitehall and his house at St. Albans searched for papers; and writing on the evening of the 25th, from Hartley Row, to the Secretary of State, James desired that Sarah Churchill should be confined to Lady Tyrconnel's rooms in St. James's Palace, and Mrs. Berkeley to the house of her father, the Knight-Marshal.* But the order came too late, for the ladies had fled before it could be executed.† James could find out little regarding Anne's flight, beyond the fact that the sentry over her door had seen a coach drive up between two and three o'clock in the morning, pick up some ladies, and drive off again. We now know that the coach contained the Earl of Dorset and Compton, Bishop of London, who, being joined by the Princess, Lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley, drove to the Bishop's residence in Aldersgate Street.‡ The Princess had not passed through the anteroom where Mrs. Danvers slept, but through the closet

$\frac{25}{6}$-$\frac{11}{12}$, 1688.

* Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 214; a letter from Pepys to Lord Dartmouth; also Appendix to Sixth Report, p. 261, p. 350, and p. 418.

† Letters from Lord Middleton to Lord Preston, Hartley Row, November 25, 7 p.m. Preston Papers. The Lord Chief Justice Wright granted a warrant to seize Sarah and her goods, but it was never executed. Luttrell, vol. i., p. 479.

‡ Mrs. Berkeley's husband had deserted with the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, and others. He was subsequently created Viscount Fitzharding. His wife was a Villiers, and an intimate friend of Marlborough's wife.

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and down the back-stairs. The Duchess of Marlborough would have us believe that Anne was surprised and alarmed upon learning that Prince George had joined William, and she herself says in her letter to the Queen: 'I am so deeply afflicted with the surprising news of the Prince's being gone,' etc. But this is clearly false, for it is certain that the whole plot had been concocted before Churchill started with the King for Salisbury. By Lady Churchill's advice, Anne pretended that she had fled in order to avoid her father's anger at the Prince's desertion, and, according to Sarah's account, the Princess had told her 'that sooner than see her father she would jump out at window.'* She must, however, have been aware that flight was more necessary for herself than for the Princess. Sarah's influence over Anne was notorious, and James would be sure to visit his anger upon her rather than upon his daughter. It is vain for her to pretend that she merely acted in obedience to Anne's orders, and that the whole affair was 'sudden and unconcerted,'† for on another page she confesses, or rather boasts, that she influenced her mistress in all that she did. Her husband had promised William, before he left Holland, that Anne and Prince George should join him upon his landing in England, and Anne had written wishing him 'good success in this so just an undertaking; and *I hope the Prince will soon be with you*, who, I am sure, will do you all the service that lies in his power. He went yesterday with the King towards Salisbury, *intending to go from thence to you as soon as his friends thought proper*.' She goes on to say: 'I am not yet certain if I shall continue here, or remove into the City; that shall depend upon the advice my friends will give me.'‡ Her destination in the City was Bishop Comp-

$\frac{1}{2}\frac{8}{8}$ 11, 1688.

* She says so in the letter she wrote to her stepmother the night she fled from Whitehall. The letter was evidently written under the dictation of Sarah. 'Conduct,' p. 16.

† 'Conduct,' p. 18.

‡ Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 333, Appendix.

ton's house, in Suffolk Street, Strand, a secret address which Sarah naïvely says had been sent to her in case Anne might require the worthy Bishop's services. The probable contingencies had been well thought out, and the action to be taken decided upon, whenever it should become known that James was on his way back to London.* Further evidence to the same effect is not wanting, for on December 4 Churchill asked Lord Clarendon, whom he met at William's headquarters, 'when the Princess left the Cockpit. When I told him,' writes Clarendon, 'he said he wondered she went not sooner.'† Anne's flight from London was so clearly a part of the plot that the efforts of the Duchess to excuse or misrepresent it are alike futile. Anne was fully aware that the army intended to desert her father, for when Lord Clarendon spoke to her of his son's desertion she coolly answered: 'People were so apprehensive of Popery, that she believed many more of the army would do the same.'‡

Anne and her companions having passed the night in the City, proceeded the next morning to Lord Dorset's place, Copt Hall, and thence to Northampton, which she entered in triumph. There the people rallied round her, and she felt herself safe among the friends of the Prince of Orange.§ Accompanied by Lady Churchill and the Bishop, she next went to Oxford, where she was joined by her husband and some troops sent by the Prince of Orange. The Bishop, who had resumed his old military garb, rode in front of her Dragoon escort with pistols in his holsters and a drawn sword in his hand. He subsequently returned to London in the same fashion, and on the banner of his troop was inscribed, 'Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.'

§ 12, 1688.

James, dejected and humbled in spirit, knew not what

* That Sarah was untruthful is apparent from many incidents of her career, but this instance affords the most direct and complete evidence on the point.

† Clarendon's Diary, by Singer, vol. ii., p. 214.

‡ Clarendon's Diary, 20, 11, 1688.

§ 'Remarks upon the Conduct of a certain Duchess,' p. 12.

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to do. At last he resolved to call a Council to advise him; and to allay the public excitement only Protestants were summoned. About forty spiritual and temporal peers met accordingly in the dining-room at Whitehall, the morning after his arrival. The questions of opening negotiations with William, and of summoning a Parliament, were discussed. Clarendon and some others spoke their minds freely, to James's infinite annoyance, while James related his proceedings at Salisbury and tried to explain his conduct. He laid stress upon the Providential bleeding of the nose which had prevented him from going to Warminster, and had saved him, he said, from being handed over to the Prince of Orange. 'He had,' he added, 'great reason to believe that Lord Churchill then designed to give him up to William.'* His Roman Catholic advisers, as well as the French Ambassador, recommended him to send the Queen and the infant Prince to Paris without loss of time, and to follow them himself as soon as possible, to beg help from the French King. To the Earl of Ailesbury, who endeavoured to persuade him not to leave England, James said: 'If I should go, who can wonder, after the treatment I have found? My daughter hath deserted me, my army also, and him that I raised from nothing, the same on whom I heaped all favours; and if such betrays me, what can I expect from those I have done so little for? I know not who to speak to or who to trust.'† He decided to follow the advice of the Roman Catholics, and accordingly sent off the Queen and her child by night. Two days later, having thrown the Great Seal into the Thames, he started for France himself. Before leaving Whitehall, he wrote the following letter to his faithful Lord Feversham: 'Whitehall, $\frac{12}{22}$ 12, 1688. December 10, 1688.—Things are now come to that extremity that I have been forced to send away the Queen

* Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii., p. 208.

† Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury, by himself, Roxburghe Club Papers, p. 195.

and my son the Prince of Wales, that they might not fall into my enemies' hands, which they must have done had they stayed. I am obliged to do the same thing, and to endeavour to secure my life the best I can, in hopes that it will please God, out of His infinite mercy to this unhappy nation, to touch their hearts again with true loyalty and honour. If I could have relied on all my troops, I might not have been put to the extremity I am in, and would at least have had one blow for it; but though I know there are amongst you very many loyal and brave men, both officers and soldiers, yet you know that both yourself and several of the general officers and others of the army told me it was no ways advisable for me to venture myself at their head or to think to fight the Prince of Orange with them. And now there remains only for me to thank you and all those officers and soldiers who have stuck to me, and ever truly loyal, and hope you will still retain the same fidelity to me, though I do not expect you should expose yourselves by resisting a foreign army and a poisoned nation; yet I hope your former principles are so enrooted in you that you will keep yourselves free from associations and such pernicious things: time presses so that I can say no more.—J. R.

'I must add this, that as I have always found you loyal, so you have found me a kind master, as so you shall still find me to be.—J. R.'

Upon receipt of this letter, Feversham wrote as follows from Uxbridge to the Prince of Orange: 'Noon, $\frac{11}{21}$ December.—SIR, Having received this morning a letter from his Majesty, with the unfortunate news of his resolution to go out of England, and that he has actually gone, I thought myself obliged, being at the head of the army, having received his Majesty's orders to make no opposition against anybody, to let your Highness know it, with the advice of the officers here, as soon as it was possible to hinder the misfortune of the effusion of blood. I have sent orders already to that purpose to all troops that are under my

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command, which shall be the last order they shall receive from' (*sic*).* This letter was signed by the writer, and by Lanier, Fenwick, and Oglethorpe.†

Feversham forthwith disbanded the army in obedience to the orders he had received from James. He was not justified in adopting this course, and it was the more unwarrantable inasmuch as the men were sent away without the pay which was due to them. This was done for the express purpose of embarrassing William, and it did so considerably. It led to panics in London and elsewhere, and occasioned riots in which the Spanish and Florentine Embassies were sacked, and the newly-erected Roman Catholic churches destroyed. It might have led to great disorders; for a number of men, especially wild Irish Catholics, suddenly released from the restraints of discipline and let loose upon an unarmed population, could not fail at least to create alarm, even if no more serious consequences followed. James told Lord Dartmouth that any of the men under his command who wished to remain faithful to him should join Tyrconnel in Ireland. 'If they will not, there is no remedy,' he added. Already his thoughts and his hopes turned to Ireland, where his active Lord Deputy had raised a strong Catholic army, upon whose fidelity he knew he could depend.

The Duke of Northumberland,‡ on hearing of James's flight, reassembled his troop of Life Guards, which had just been disbanded by Feversham,§ and the Marquis of Miremont did the same with his regiment of Horse, dismissing the Catholics. Meanwhile the officers commanding regiments in London sent an express to tell William of the King's flight, and to assure him that 'they would assist the Lord Mayor to keep the City quiet till his arrival.'

* Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 229.

† Note to p. 250, vol. ii., of Clarke's 'Life of James.'

‡ Illegitimate son of Charles II.

§ This troop is now the 2nd Life Guards.

‖ A Frenchman, who was cousin to Feversham.

At Hungerford William met the three Commissioners sent by James to treat with him.* Churchill was present during the interview, but said little.† In the evening William went to Littlecote, where Churchill and several other officers supped with him. On the 11th it was generally known in London that James had fled. The peers then in town, numbering twenty-two, together with seven archbishops and bishops, met at once to consider the situation. They resolved to send two of their number to the Prince of Orange to beg him to assemble a free Parliament without delay, for the settlement of the kingdom. They also sent for the keys of the Tower, and appointed Lord Lucas Governour. Dec. 7/17 12, 1688. Dec. 11/21 12, 1688.

Meanwhile William arrived at Henley, and sent Churchill forward with instructions to reassemble his old troop of Life Guards, and to assume command of the other regiments that had just been disbanded in London. He was directed to quarter the English troops in Southwark, and to disband the Marquis de Miremont's and all other regiments whose loyalty was considered doubtful. At the same time a declaration was published desiring the commanding officers of the disbanded regiments which could be depended upon to call them together again. Churchill's command was not confined to London, for we find orders countersigned by him which refer to movements elsewhere.‡ Of the old army, about half rejoined their regiments; of the other half, a large proportion returned to Ireland, and many went abroad to seek their fortunes in Catholic countries.§ Every effort was made by the Jacobites to foment divisions amongst the troops that remained, espe- Dec. 12/22 12, 1688.

* They were the Earl of Nottingham and Lords Halifax and Godolphin, with Dr. Wynn as secretary.

† Singer's 'Clarendon Correspondence,' vol. ii.

‡ Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 237. Throughout 1689 and 1690 orders for the movement of troops in and from England were all signed by Marlborough. The War Office marching books of those years, now in the Rolls Office, are full of such orders.

§ Luttrell's Diary for $\frac{\text{Jan.}}{\text{Feb.}}$ 1, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

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cially among the officers, and some time elapsed before the loyalty of all the regiments could be entirely relied upon.

James left London with the intention of taking ship for France, but, arrested and ill-treated by the country-people in Kent, he was brought back to Whitehall, and was received by the fickle populace of London with every mark of rejoicing. Had he been a man of firm resolve and of a stout heart, it is possible that he might, even at the eleventh hour, have saved his Throne. This revival of popular feeling in James's favour made his presence in London hurtful to William's ulterior objects, so he was encouraged to take up his residence for the time at Ham House, near Richmond. But he begged to be allowed to stay at Rochester instead, doubtless with a view to escaping from the kingdom. The request being granted, he quitted London for ever, and five days later sailed for France, accompanied by his son, the Duke of Berwick. Dethroned by his people, deceived by his friends, and deserted by his daughters, he fled from the land of his birth with all the appearance of fear for his life. His was indeed a pitiable fate, and yet few pitied him; the majority detested, and all despised, him. His daughter Anne was apparently as glad as others to be rid of him. She and Lady Churchill, both bedecked with a profusion of orange-coloured ribands, went to the play in state the very evening that her unfortunate father was being taken by river, in the worst of weather, to Rochester. James was King no more, and William of Orange, the first constitutional sovereign of England, though not yet crowned, reigned in his stead.

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At St. Germains the impression made by James was anything but favourable. 'There goes a silly, weak man,' said the witty Archbishop of Reims, 'who has given up three kingdoms for a Mass.'* The light-hearted Frenchmen despised and turned him into ridicule; but he was well received by Lewis XIV., who ordered him to be treated with the ceremony due to a crowned head, and settled upon

* He was Louvois's brother. Vol. lxv., p. 62, of Petitot.

him an annuity of about £24,000 as long as he should remain in France.*

On the arrival of William at Windsor, he took possession of the Princess Anne's apartments, which had been specially prepared for his reception; and on the following day he wrote to Lord Craven, who commanded the Foot Guards round the royal palaces, and announced his intention of proceeding to London on the following Tuesday. He desired that all the British troops should be moved out of the capital on the previous day, and sent to the quarters he had appointed for them. He directed 800 of his Dutch Horse Guards and 3,000 Dutch Foot Guards to reach Whitehall on Monday, and desired that they should occupy the quarters vacated by the English Household Troops. He told Lord Craven that he had given detailed instructions on these points to Lord Churchill, 'to whom I do therefore refer you for his assistance as there shall be occasion.'† Lord Craven, though eighty years of age, would have fought sooner than give up to Count Solmes his guard over his Sovereign's person; but he was persuaded to comply, in order to avoid bloodshed.‡ Many of the English Guards obeyed their orders in a mutinous spirit, and some threw down their arms in disgust. The British troops being removed from London, the protection of the city was committed to the 'ill-favoured and ill-accoutred Dutchmen.' But it is added that the citizens were 'mightily pleased with their deliverers, nor perceived their deformity,' etc.§

Dec. 12, 1688.

Dec. 12, 1688.

Churchill carried out his orders with his usual vigour, urbanity and skill; and, thanks to his intimate knowledge of the army and his influence with the officers, tranquillity and confidence were so quickly re-established that William

* 'Louis XIV. et son Siècle,' par A. Dumas, vol. iv., p. 105.

† Domestic Papers, British Museum, marching orders of the Royal Dragoons.

‡ Lord Craven, the son of a merchant-tailor who was Lord Mayor of London, was a gallant soldier who had seen a great deal of war service abroad.

§ Memoirs of Sir J. Reresby, Bart.

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was enabled to hasten his arrival in London. Apparently in high favour with William, Churchill, ever anxious to serve his friends, did not forget his cousin and old comrade, George Legge, Earl of Dartmouth. Lady Dartmouth, writing to her husband, says: 'Lord Churchill sent me a compliment if he could serve you to the Prince, I might command him in your absence.'* And again: 'Lord Churchill has already acquainted the Prince how useful a Minister in the management of affairs he (Lord Dartmouth) is.'† Dartmouth was anxious to retain his position as Master-General of the Ordnance, and Churchill pleaded his cause with William.‡ All through life he stood by his friends, and helped them to benefit by his own success.

$\frac{15}{25}$ 12, 1688.

$\frac{18}{28}$ 12, 1688.

Upon reaching St. James's Palace William held a court, which was numerously attended. When Serjeant Maynard, a man of ninety years, made his bow, the Prince said: 'You must have outlived all the lawyers of your time.' 'I should have outlived the law itself if your Highness had not come over,' was the ready answer.

$\frac{21}{1}$-$\frac{12}{1}$, 1688.

The 'Act of Association' was signed at Westminster by seventy peers, of whom Churchill was one. In it they assured one another of mutual support, and promised to use all their efforts to bring about the objects enumerated in the Prince of Orange's proclamation. Churchill was also one of the ninety peers who, four days later, petitioned William to summon Parliament, and in the meantime to assume the government of the country, and especially to protect Ireland. In the absence of a legal Parliament, a National Convention was assembled, consisting of those who had been members of Parliament under Charles II., the Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and fifty councillors of the City of London. Lord Churchill's brother George—the

$\frac{22}{1}$-$\frac{1}{2}$, 1688.

* Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 234.

† *Ibid.*, p. 242. A letter from P. Bowles to Lord Dartmouth of $\frac{25}{7}$-$\frac{12}{1}$, $\frac{1688}{1689}$, in which he describes what Dartmouth's chances are under William.

‡ James's Memoirs.

sailor—was one of the representatives for St. Albans in this Convention, which practically dethroned James and crowned William, and from which, a century later, the National Convention of France took its name.

In the interests of free institutions it was necessary to call this Convention Parliament together for the purpose of settling the question of the succession, for it might otherwise have been open to William or his successors to plead that they ruled by right of conquest. The House of Commons was strongly in favour of dethroning James and permanently excluding his son from the succession. The Lords, no less anxious to protect the country from Popery and despotism, were, however, profoundly imbued with a sense of Divine Right, and sought some middle course by which they might, while getting rid of James, ease their consciences and sustain their principles. In a powerful maiden speech, Somers, in the House of Commons, argued that James had forfeited his right to the allegiance of the English people. The report which he drew up for the committee of the House was the groundwork of the subsequent Bill of Rights, which was prepared under his direction. Somers was strongly opposed to the Militia law, and in the fifth clause of his report stated that it was 'grievous to the subject.' This clause was not, however, included in the 'Declaration of Rights,' and the legal obligation of every man to serve in the Militia survives to the present day.

It is tolerably certain that many of those who wished William to come over did not wish him to be made the King. Sarah declares most solemnly that she 'never once dreamt of his being King.' Her husband, pleading sickness, kept away from the House of Lords when the discussion took place as to whether there should be a King or a Regent. But he was too astute a man of the world, and was too well acquainted with Princes, to imagine that William would be content to return to Holland as Stadtholder, when, as Sarah puts it, 'he had made us all

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happy.'* Deeply imbued from childhood with a belief in Divine Right and in the principle of 'a Deo Rex, a Rege Lex,' it was but natural that Churchill should wish the crown to remain in abeyance during James II.'s life, and the royal authority to be exercised by William under the title of Regent. But none understood more clearly than he did how impossible was any such arrangement with a man of William's ambition and temperament. It was plausibly argued that, as the Crown was hereditary, to create a King by Act of Parliament would be, in fact, to reduce England to the level of a republic. Such an innovation would strike at the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, and introduce an element of uncertainty into the Constitution that must inevitably weaken the executive to a dangerous extent. To meet the difficulty, there was a strong and general disposition to make William only Regent. Under that title—known to the laws of England—he would carry on the government of the country for his father-in-law, who was disqualified from reigning by the fact of his being a Roman Catholic. The Tory lords and bishops were in favour of this proposed arrangement, and pretended to believe in the warming-pan story in order to account for their exclusion of the Prince of Wales. But William would listen to no such plan, and began to talk of returning to Holland. He had promised to abide by the decision of the Parliament he was to summon when he landed. But he disliked Parliaments as much as all the Stewarts did. In a letter to Bentinck he says of them: 'Et pourtant remettre son sort à eux, n'est pas peu hazarder.' He said to Lord Halifax that he had 'not come over to establish a Commonwealth; and he was sure of one thing, he would not stay in England if King James came again. He roundly declared that 'he would go if they went about to make him Regent,'† and he added that he did not mean to

* 'Conduct,' p. 20.

† Minutes of conversation with William made by the Marquis of Halifax. In the Spencer House Papers.

be his wife's Gentleman Usher. Mary announced at the same time that she would not accept the Crown unless it were shared by her husband on equal terms. The debate in the House of Commons ended with the following resolution: 'Resolved that King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between the King and the people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws and withdrawn himself out the kingdom, hath abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant.'* The many crimes and treasons of James towards his people were dwelt upon, and—evidently as a warning to William—the ancient rights and liberties of Englishmen, and the terms of the contract which, it was stated, had always existed between the King and his people, were recited at length. The resolution wound up by settling the Crown on William and Mary, and upon Anne after their death. Carried up to the House of Lords on the following day by Hampden, grandson of the patriot, this resolution was agreed to without alteration.† 28-1/2, 1688.

The question discussed by the Lords was 'whether, the Crown being vacant, it ought to be filled by a Regent or a King.' Halifax's earnest speech turned the scale by a majority of two in favour of a King, but this small majority was only secured by the abstention of Lord Churchill and a few of his most intimate friends. He had taken part in most of the previous debates, but upon this occasion he 'kept at home upon some indisposition.'‡ A natural and commendable delicacy forbade him to take part either in the discussion upon his master's future, or in the negotiations which led up to it. Godolphin and Dartmouth both voted for a Regency. William was clearly 2, 1688.

* 'Parliamentary History,' v., p. 50.

† Later on this grandson of the patriot accepted bribes from Lewis XIV. to vote in favour of French interests.

‡ Parliamentary Register, xxv., Lords' Proceedings, i., 1660 to 1697; 51 voted for a King, and 49 for a Regent.

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made to feel that the Crown was bestowed upon him as a free gift to be held in trust for the people. Parliament wished to settle the Crown upon Anne should Mary die before her, but William positively refused his consent to the proposal. He must be King for life, and he would accept no other terms. Anne was at first decidedly opposed to any such arrangement. Her uncle, Lord Clarendon, said, 'It was given out that my Lord Churchill had undertaken she would give her consent,' but she indignantly denied that he had done so on the strength of an assurance which she had received from him. Clarendon distrusted the Churchills, and believed that they were anxious to please William at his niece's expense in order to obtain favour and consideration from him.* It is, however, plain from Anne's subsequent conduct, and from a later conversation which she had with Clarendon, that her objections to the proposed settlement of the Crown were ultimately removed through the persuasion of the Churchills.† Sarah states that at first she was opposed to William's pretensions on the ground that they were injurious to the interests of her mistress, and she adds that neither he nor Mary ever forgave her opposition. Later on, however, it became evident, she says, that the proposal was for 'the publick welfare,' and she consequently advised Anne to acquiesce in it.‡ Marlborough's calumniators would have us believe that Sarah withdrew her objections for value received from William; but as there exists no shadow of proof for the accusation, it must be put down to the malignity of her assailants. In the inscription on the monument she erected at Blenheim Palace in honour of Anne, the Duchess says, the Queen 'had no false ambition, which

* See Lord Clarendon's Diary of 29, 10, 1688, where he states he did not attempt to speak to Anne because Sarah was present.

† Clarendon Correspondence, Singer, vol. ii., p. 260.

‡ 'Conduct,' pp. 21, 22. Sarah in her 'Conduct' states that she consulted Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lady Russell, before she advised Anne as she did in this matter. It was that divine who finally persuaded the Princess to consent, she says.

appeared by her never complaining at King William's being preferred to the Crown before her, when it was taken from the King, her father, for following such counsels and pursuing such measures as made the Revolution necessary.'

That Anne did object to the arrangement at first is proved by papers now accessible to everyone, but that she never complained after her objections had been overcome by her favourite is a fact to which her conduct during William's life bears ample testimony. Nor is the statement on the monument inconsistent with the assertion that Sarah persuaded Anne to forego her claims in favour of William. Sarah's action in this matter did not, however, constitute in William's opinion any great claim on his favour. She quickly found 'that all the principal men, except the Jacobites,' wanted a King, 'and that the settlement would be carried in Parliament whether the Princess consented to it or not.'* Moreover, it must have been plain to Anne, to Mary, and to all concerned, that by right the Crown belonged to James alone, and that it was by Act of Parliament that he had been dethroned and his son debarred from the succession. They clearly understood that the power which could do this could as easily and as lawfully settle the Crown and the succession upon whomsoever it would, and Anne must have realized, that if she were to succeed to the Throne during the lifetime of her father or of her brother, her only title would be a Parliamentary one.

From the first Mary strongly resented the domination which the Churchills exercised over her sister. Towards the end of the year Lord Halifax had a conversation with William upon the manner in which the consent of Anne to the Act of Settlement had been obtained, and put it upon record that William expressed his determination that Churchill should not govern either himself or his wife as he governed the Prince and Princess of Denmark. Halifax adds the following remark upon William's character: 'A

$\frac{30}{9}$-$\frac{12}{1}$, 1688.

* 'Conduct,' pp. 21, 22.

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great jealousy of being thought to be governed;' and 'this showed that Lord Churchill was very assuming, which he (William) did not like, and it showed a jealousy of the Princess Anne and of that side of the house.'* At this time there was a close daily intercourse between William and Lord Churchill, who, by his knowledge of the army and of its officers was able to give William the best possible advice on military matters. In January we read of his being closeted for hours with the Prince at St. James's Palace, presumably occupied in the discussion of questions relating to army administration.† 'Lord Churchill is the greatest man next to Marshal Schomberg in army affairs,' is the news sent from London to Lord Dartmouth.‡ He was appointed to be Lieutenant-General in February, and William committed to him the task of reorganizing the army, especially the five regiments of Horse and three of Foot recently raised by James. In carrying out this duty, he dismissed the Catholics and all whom he believed to be personally hostile to William. Several regiments were disbanded, to the great annoyance of their colonels and other officers. Lord Macclesfield remonstrated about the manner in which his son's regiment of Horse had been dealt with, but Churchill replied that he had disbanded the regiment because it had been raised to oppose William's policy.§ Officers and men were ordered to rejoin their regiments, the Paymaster-General was directed to discharge all arrears of pay, and intimation was given that in future pay and subsistence allowances would be issued regularly. As a mark of William's personal interest in the army, one of his first acts after he had been proclaimed King was to hold a grand

Jan. 1, 168⅞.

Feb. 2, 168⅞.

* Memoranda of conversations with William, made by Lord Halifax. In the Spencer House Papers.

† Singer's Clarendon Correspondence. The Diary, January 13, 1688.

‡ Historical MSS., Eleventh Report, Appendix, p. 249. See also Lord Ailesbury's Memoirs, p. 244.

§ Lord Macclesfield's son was Viscount Brandon, who had commanded Lord Gerard's regiment of Horse.

review of the troops. Churchill was reinstated in his former position as Captain and Colonel of the third troop of Life Guards, from which he had been removed by James.* Marshal Schomberg, old, gouty, and arrogant, was the nominal head of the army, but it was really Churchill who appointed and promoted officers.† It was the custom of the day to pay for commissions and promotions, and it would have been strange indeed had Churchill refused to accept what were regarded as the ordinary fees of office. It is alleged that he amassed a considerable sum of money in this way, and he is accused of having corruptly promoted notoriously incompetent officers. On this point Lord Ailesbury writes: 'The harvest my Lord Churchill made by this was vast, for all is sold. Colonel Selwin, of the Foot Guards, of little merit and service, obtained a regiment and Governour of Tilbury, etc.; and his footman told one of mine that his master gave him at twice a purse of a thousand guineas to hold for him until his master entered into that lord's lodgings at the Cockpit.' He goes on to say that about a year and a half after this time he was walking with Lady Marlborough alone in her garden at St. Albans, when she said: 'Lord!' (a common word with her) 'they keep such a noise at our wealth. I do assure you that it doth not exceed £70,000, and what will that come to when laid out in land? And besides, we have now a son and five daughters to provide for.'‡ Although there is no evidence whatever for or against him in this matter, it may be, I think, fairly assumed that he accepted the usual fees and gratuities of his office, and it may be as confidently asserted that the charge of corruptly promoting incompetent men is without foundation.

Lord Churchill had been appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber by William, and, two days before the Corona-

* This troop was disbanded 25, 12, 1746, when the Life Guards were reduced from four to two troops.

† Lord Ailesbury's Memoirs, pp. 244, 245.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

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tion, he was advanced to the rank of Earl.* He chose the title of Marlborough, by which, with varieties of spelling in various languages, he is known in history. He was distantly connected, through his mother, with the Ley family, four of whom had borne that title. It had become extinct at the death of the fourth Earl in 1679. The third Earl, who signed himself 'Marleburgh,' was killed in 1665 in a naval battle with the Dutch in Southwold Bay.† The first Earl married Jane Butler, daughter of John, Lord Butler, who was grandfather to Lord Churchill's mother. Jane, Lady Marleburgh, had no children, and the title descended to the issue of a previous marriage. There was, consequently, no blood relationship between any member of the Ley family and that of Lord Churchill.

June 2, 1685.

Others besides Churchill were rewarded by William for the part they took in the Revolution—Lords Winchester and Devonshire and Field-Marshal Schomberg were made Dukes, while Admiral Russell, Henry Sidney, and the favourite Bentinck were made Earls.

* The Duke of Ormond, Earl of Oxford, Lord Mordaunt (afterwards Earl of Peterborough), Lord Lumley (afterwards Earl of Scarborough), and Mr. Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney), were all made Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.

† He was killed in the act of re-taking the *Montague*, a ship of fifty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Carslake, which the Dutch had captured. See a remarkable letter from this Earl of 'Marleburgh' to Sir H. Pollard, Controller of the King's Household. It is dated '*Old James*, near the coast of Holland, $\frac{3}{4}$-$\frac{4}{5}$, 1665.' In this action a single round shot killed, on board the Duke of York's ship, Charles Weston, the Earls of Portland and Falmouth, the Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, one of the Earl of Cork's sons. See Eleventh Report of Historical MSS., Part VII., p. 85.

CHAPTER LI.

ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

The Royal Scots Regiment mutinies—The Annual Mutiny Act—The benefits gained by the Revolution—Marlborough's part in it.

On Ash Wednesday William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen, and on the following day the Privy Council was formed and Churchill was sworn in.* England at once began to settle down, but the condition of affairs both in Scotland and in Ireland had assumed a serious aspect. Ireland was held by Lord Tyrconnel for James, whilst in Scotland Viscount Dundee, with an army of Highlanders, set William at defiance. A redistribution of the military forces of the Crown became, therefore, a matter of imperative urgency. It was also necessary to send some regiments to Holland, whence all available troops had been withdrawn in order to make up the army of invasion.† Those whose loyalty to William was most doubtful were selected, and of these, Dumbarton's—now the Royal Scots—was put under orders for embarkation.

This had been a favourite regiment with James, and its Roman Catholic Colonel, Lord Dumbarton, had accompanied him to France. William made Marshal Schomberg Colonel in place of Dumbarton, an appointment which was so dis-

* There was an interregnum of two months between this proclamation and the abdication of James on $\frac{11}{21}$ 12, 1688, when at 1 a.m. he quitted the kingdom.

† This order of $\frac{8}{18}$ 3, $168\frac{8}{9}$, was addressed 'To our Rt. Trusty and worthy Councillor John Lord Churchill, Lieut.-General of our forces.'

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tasteful to the regiment that the men refused to embark. A number of the officers and others seized the money destined for the payment of the men, and with four guns the regiment set out for Scotland.* Viscount Dundee's regiment of Scots Horse followed their example, and also marched northwards.† It was necessary to put down this mutiny at once, but instead of employing Churchill or some other English General to do so, William gave the command to the Dutchman, De Ginkel, appointing Major-General Sir John Lanier as second in command. This was the first instance in which he showed that preference for his own countrymen over English officers which thenceforward gave such great offence to his new subjects.

The troops employed to suppress this mutiny were two English regiments of Horse and three of Dutch Dragoons.‡ The mutinous Infantry, consisting of about twenty officers —including the ringleader, Lieutenant A. Gawen—and 500 men, were overtaken near Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, when they laid down their arms and were escorted to London. Ten of the officers were tried at the Bury assizes in July, 1689, when one was convicted, six pleaded guilty, and three threw themselves on the King's mercy. Of all the twenty, three or four only were dismissed, the others being pardoned by William, whose policy was to gain over the English army to his side. He foresaw that Lewis XIV. would not allow him to become King of England without further opposition, and a loyal and efficient army and navy were therefore amongst his most pressing needs.

The mutiny of Schomberg's Regiment may be said to

* They started from Ipswich, to which place they had gone to embark for Holland.

† This regiment must not be confounded with the Scots Greys. These mutineers, if they can be styled so, escaped to Scotland, where many joined the Highlanders in their resistance to William. The regiment was at once disbanded.

‡ The English regiments were the King's Regiment of Horse, now the King's Dragoon Guards, and Colonel Langston's, the 8th Regiment of Horse, which was disbanded in 1693.

have brought about the system of annual Mutiny Acts. It afforded strong proof that military discipline cannot be maintained by the milder laws which suffice to hold ordinary society together. The soldiers of an army, all of about the same age, and full of youth's passions, suffer from the disadvantage of being brought but little into contact with the softening influence of the old in civil life. Cut off from the moral example and healthy restraints of home, they are apt to become restive and more difficult to manage than their fellows living quietly amidst more natural and domestic conditions. On active service, where their path lies daily along the borderland between life and death, the frequent struggle with man's final enemy engenders a contempt for his terrors which is often accompanied by recklessness and violence. Such men are not to be kept in order by laws which fail to punish even the tenant who pours boiling water on the head of the landlord who presumes to call and ask for his rent. A code of special and more stringent laws is required for the government of soldiers if they are to live, even in time of peace, in the midst of a civil community without becoming a terror to it.

From time immemorial, the House of Commons had dreaded a standing army in England, as fatal to the liberties of the people. Were the King allowed to maintain an army during peace, it was believed that he would use it at his own discretion and without the sanction of Parliament. We had no standing army until the establishment of Cromwell's military despotism, when it may be said that he ruled the nation through a military council. But the army rule which he established was hateful to the nation, a fact which greatly facilitated General Monk's restoration of the monarchy. A contemporary historian records, that 'the people had suffered so much from the army that he (Charles II.) was received with the utmost joy and transport.'*

* 'A Short History of Standing Armies in England,' third edition, London, 1698, p. 12.

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1$\frac{2}{3}$ 4, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

To the House of Commons, always on the look out for means of increasing its powers, this mutiny of the Royal Scots afforded an opportunity to obtain by law a firm hold over the army. They passed the Mutiny Act with alacrity, but it only gave the King and his military officers power for one year to punish soldiers guilty of mutiny, desertion, and other military crimes therein specified. Henceforth the King must ask the House of Commons annually to give him this power, and if in any year it should be refused, the King could no longer keep his army together, since he could not lawfully enforce discipline. The preamble of this Bill—repeated annually in every subsequent Mutiny Act down to the year 1880—set forth the principle contained in the 'Declaration of Rights,' that 'the raising or keeping of a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against the law.' It was this Act which transferred all real power over the army from the Crown to Parliament.

In previous reigns the King, or sometimes the General commanding in the field, had issued 'Articles and Rules for the better Government of his Majesty's Forces by Land.' Until the reign of James II. these were, however, only recognised as having the force of law during the continuance of the war for which they were specifically enacted. But in the 'Rules and Articles' published by James II. in 1688 there is no allusion to their being enacted for use in any particular war, or even for any specified time. They are to be 'duly observed under the pains and penalties therein expressed.' In other words, they were to be the permanent laws for the standing army which he was determined to maintain.* In the Mutiny Act

* I possess a copy of the 'Articles and Rules for the better Government of His Majestie's Forces by Land during this present war,' 'published by His Majestie's command' in 1673 for the iniquitous war against Holland. There is in the library of the University of Glasgow a book of rules entitled 'The Lawes and Ordinances of warre, for the better government of His Majesty's army Royale, issued by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, etc.

passed by William's first Parliament, there is no allusion to the soldier's 'Duties to Almighty God,' or 'to his Sacred Majesty and Kingly Government,' with which the articles of war of Charles II. begin. There is, however, a recital in it of the principle laid down in the Petition of Rights, that all billeting of soldiers upon the inhabitants against their will was illegal; but seeing that the nation was then engaged in war with France, which necessitated 'the marching of many regiments, troops, and companies in several parts of this kingdom towards the sea-coasts and otherwise,' it was enacted that the system of billeting should be continued as long as the war lasted, and no longer. After the passing of the Mutiny Act, we read from time to time in the *London Gazette* and contemporary papers of soldiers being shot in Hyde Park for mutiny.*

So ended the Great Revolution, the most notable event which stirred the hearts of Englishmen in the seventeenth century. It was a great victory for Protestantism, that essentially democratic form of truth. Apart from its spiritual side, Protestantism taught the right of individual judgment in moral questions to England, and through her to all nations. Mankind had been befooled for ages by the preaching of false prophets, and puzzled by the symbols and trappings of a mystic religion; but the veil which had so long concealed its so-called altars was now rent asunder, and men began to see the light clearly. It cannot be said, however, that Marlborough truly estimated, or even took note of, the moral forces put in motion by the Revolution, for the virtue of liberty, apart from the material blessings which freedom of thought confers, had no abstract excellence for him. The Revolution effected no violent or abrupt

etc., and General of all His Majesty's Forces in the present Expedition for the defence of the Realme.' It was printed at Newcastle. My copy of King James II.'s 'Rules and Articles,' etc., is dated London, 1688, and 'printed by Charles Bill, Henry Hills, and Thomas Newcombe, printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty.'

* Appendix to Fifth Report of Historical MSS., p. 382.

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change of sentiment, manners, or moral opinions. That it was no civil war is evident from the 'Declarations' of the gentry of counties; nor did it leave behind that legacy of hate between the two sides which is the usual outcome of a great rebellion. It did not alter in any way the relation between the rich and poor, the peer and peasant, but it reformed our monarchical institutions and balanced the political forces, the constituent elements represented respectively by King and people. It was surely a constitutional reformation rather than a political revolution. It did for monarchy what the Reformation had done for religion; it purified it, and transferred it into a clearer atmosphere of liberty, where the individual was allowed to think out for himself social and moral as well as spiritual questions.

Men sometimes compare it with the 'Great Rebellion,' but surely we owe it far more. When we have put out of sight the noble gallantry of the cavalier and have forgotten his unselfish loyalty, and when the glamour which still surrounds the Royal Martyr and his cause is no longer thought of, the Revolution will still stand forth as one of the very greatest landmarks of English history. Upon its results depended whether liberty or tyranny was to be supreme in this realm of ours. The Great Rebellion was towards its close a mere question between the tyranny of an hereditary King and the despotism of a great military adventurer. In that struggle England lost much realized wealth, but gained no abiding political or constitutional advantage, and it exercised comparatively little permanent influence upon the future of this country; but the Revolution laid for us the foundations of our present system of Parliamentary government, and its principles still pervade the public life of the nation and continue to influence the private conduct of individuals in every English-speaking community.

We no longer refer to the Revolution in the glowing and exaggerated terms used by our great-grandfathers, but none the less we value the assured freedom and other blessings which it brought to the nation. But we purchased this

freedom at a great price, for it entailed upon us the system of government by party, 'the madness of the many for the gain of the few.'*

Years after these events, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, wrote as follows: 'I had several very curious things in my power to prove concerning the behaviour of both parties, Whig and Tory, after the Revolution. But I imagine it would be best to let all that drop, because I really can't say which side is most infamous; I can't see much difference between them, both sides designing nothing but their own advantage. The Whigs had the advantage that their pretended principle was for liberty and the good of their country. The Tories was (*sic*) for pure Divine (right?), by which, I suppose, they imagined they should have all the power and places of advantage divided amongst themselves. But everything they did was very short of the great performance from the great parts and honesty of my Lord Carteret and his father, my Lord Bath.'†

In the events upon which the success of the Revolution turned it is interesting to note how slightly the balance turned on William's side. Had Churchill and his friend Godolphin, over whom he exercised a great influence, worked against the Prince of Orange, it is doubtful if the Throne would have been declared vacant even after William's undisputed occupation of Whitehall. Indeed, the more closely the history of the exiled Stewarts is studied, the more apparent becomes the weakness of the foundation upon which the Protestant succession rested even down to the accession of George III. The more we scrutinize the illegal tyrannies of James which caused the Revolution, and investigate in all their details the motives and actions of those who brought it about, the more evident it becomes that we are greatly indebted to Marlborough for the free constitution which we now enjoy; whilst his name cannot justly be connected with any one of James's many foolish and wicked measures.

* Swift. † Spencer House Papers.

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It is not because Marlborough saved Europe in Queen Anne's reign from the ambitious clutches of Lewis XIV. that we should alone feel grateful to him; but every Englishman should cherish his memory for the part he took in bringing about that Revolution which finally established Protestantism in England, and which secured to us the political liberty we have enjoyed ever since.

Wherever the English language is spoken or British law enforced, the community owes much to William of Orange and to all who helped him to gain the crown; and amongst those traitors or patriots, whichever we may elect to call them, Marlborough must always be accorded a high place.

CHAPTER LII.

WAS LORD CHURCHILL'S DESERTION JUSTIFIABLE?

The necessity of dethroning James if the English were to remain a free people—Resistance the only effective remedy for despotism—Churchill's reluctance in leaving James—His determination to do so if James interfered with the English Church—Loyalty has its limits—Duplicity of Anne, of William, and of Mary—Lord Macaulay's abuse of Marlborough—The military aspect of this question—The 'Article of War' on desertion—The defection of Marlborough lost James his Crown—The report that Marlborough intended, if necessary, to assassinate James.

WE usually associate revolutions with anarchy and violence, but in 1688 a spirit of law and order prevailed which made it a revolution prevented rather than a revolution accomplished.* Whenever men strike for liberty or in the cause of religion, it is easy for the skilled advocate or critic to frame a plausible indictment against the rebel, and the task is all the easier if he has received favours at the hands of the Sovereign whose authority he has sought to subvert. Macbeth in a moment of remorse says:

> 'We will proceed no further in this business;
> He hath honoured me of late.'

The remembrance of benefits received from James must have caused Lord Churchill many a pang, for James had raised him step by step to the position he had then attained. On the other hand, Churchill had been to the King for twenty years a valuable and faithful servant; and if we

* Burke.

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calmly review his services, and compare them with his rewards, the debtor and creditor account does not seem to be unfairly balanced.

But we have now to consider two questions vital to the character and reputation of Marlborough; firstly, was he justified in deserting James? and secondly, can the treachery which marked his desertion and the time he selected for it be excused or forgiven?

The first is simply a question of patriotic duty; the second, if not a purely military question, is one in which the political exigencies of the moment must be weighed against military law and custom.

It was clear that the reign of James II. must be brought to an end if the English people were to have any voice in the management of their country's affairs. Want of money had compelled him to meet Parliament upon his accession, but as soon as he had obtained from it the settlement of an ample revenue for life, he prorogued it, and never again called it together. Throughout his reign he showed an open determination to re-establish Popery, to destroy Protestantism, and to rule despotically, regardless of his oaths and of the laws and immemorial rights upon which English liberty is based. Churchill clung to the hope that James would keep his Coronation Oath, and that, although a Roman Catholic, he would maintain the English Church as established by law; and it was not until he realized how vain that hope was, that he joined with Devonshire and others in making overtures to the Prince of Orange.

He entered most unwillingly into treasonable correspondence with the Prince of Orange, nor did he take part in the conspiracy until he had realized the impossibility of inducing James to abide by his Coronation vows, and until he clearly saw that if the rights of the Church and the liberties of the people were to be maintained, William must be established as ruler in his place. For what we call the philosophy of the Revolution as it was represented by Lord Somers, Churchill cared nothing.

As a rule, resistance is the only effective remedy for despotism, whether it be the despotism of a King, a President, or the more intolerable despotism of a Parliament or a mob. But when a nation has been saved by this means, it is scarcely fair to denounce its saviours and to stigmatize them as traitors. Further, when men deliberately resort to treason, as Churchill did in 1688 and as Washington did nearly a century later, upon the conscientious conviction that such treason is necessary for the safety and welfare of their country, then indeed, we should pause before we condemn them. Such men do not act with a light heart or without the strongest reasons, and before we pass sentence upon them, their motives should be carefully examined. Men have often been guilty of treason in the pursuit of rank, power, or wealth, and could it be proved that Churchill was actuated by unworthy motives in 1688, no denunciation of his conduct could be too severe. But in joining the conspiracy against James he relinquished the almost certain possession of all those objects which men are usually most anxious to secure. He quitted the service of a King who was attached to him, and would presumably have advanced his fortune, to throw in his lot with a Prince who might not even succeed in his enterprise, and if he did succeed might prove to be no friend.

We have good evidence of the extreme reluctance with which Churchill entered into treasonable correspondence with William, and with what repugnance he plotted against his old master. Nor did he finally decide to take part in the Revolution until he had taken the advice of his friend, the Bishop of Ely. The Bishop told him that it would be rebellion against God if he sided with those who sought to destroy the civil and religious rights of the people, and that to refuse assistance to those who 'came to the help of the Lord against the mighty' would be to incur the curse pronounced against Meroz.*

* Dr. Turner was then Bishop of Ely. See 'The Lives of Two Illustrious Generals,' etc., 1713, p. 23.

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He had striven earnestly to find excuses for James's illegal and outrageous conduct; but the dictates of his conscience and his deep interest in the preservation of Protestant liberty would no longer allow him to remain with a King who had so signally disregarded his promises and his Coronation Oath. Churchill had no personal affection for James, but he felt grateful to the master who had afforded him opportunities to rise in life, and was deeply pained at being compelled to join that master's enemies.

The following extract is from a remarkable memorandum dictated by Sarah when an old woman, for the use of those whom she had commissioned to write her husband's life:* 'When he (Marlborough) left King James, which was with the greatest regret imaginable, but he saw it was plain that King James could not be prevented any other way from establishing Popery and arbitrary power to the ruin of England, and I really believe he then thought that the army would force the Prince of Orange to go back to Holland when they had found some way to secure the Prince of Orange's interest, and to have the laws of England continued, which King James had so solemnly promised to do when he came to the Crown. Everything that has happened since demonstrates that no King is to be trusted, and it is as plain, that if the Duke of Marlborough had had the same way of thinking that our present wise Ministers have, he might have been anything that an ambitious man would desire by assisting King James to settle Popery in England.'

What Churchill had laid out for himself, and what he promised he would do if William landed in England, that he resolutely did, for, as he wrote: 'I thinke itt is what I owe to God and to my country.'† No dispassionate judge can withhold his admiration for this manly, honest, and steadfast resolution. To this day we have reason to be thankful that he preferred the cause of the Reformation to

* Spencer House Papers.

† His letter to William of $\frac{4}{14}$ 8, 1688; see p. 12, vol. ii.

the loyal promptings of his heart, and to all immediate consideration of his own personal interests.

The thought of English gentlemen and officers deliberately planning to desert with those under their command is repugnant to our ideas of honour and duty. But before we condemn those who went over to the Prince of Orange at the Revolution, we should in justice consider their position.

When Admiral Herbert, Lord Churchill, and other officers deserted King James at the Revolution, and took up arms against him, they must have fully understood the serious nature of the line they adopted. What they did was not the outcome of any sudden impulse; it was done deliberately and after much thought.

There can be no doubt that this question had long been fully and carefully weighed by Churchill. The contingency of having at some time or other to decide this important point did not come upon him unawares, and it is greatly to his credit that he had openly announced beforehand the course he meant to pursue.

Fortunately for Churchill's reputation, he had openly announced that he would abandon James if he attacked the English laws and the English Church. He had solemnly warned the King not to attempt the re-establishment of Popery; and the fact that no high command or office was bestowed upon him shows how fully James gauged the depth and sincerity of his convictions. Thus it was that, when he deserted James, he neither quitted the service of a master whose confidence he enjoyed—for the King had long ceased to admit him to his secrets—nor did he violate any rule of the moral code of his day. He made his choice between what he conceived to be crime and what he believed to be duty, knowing that he would thereby incur the active enmity of his master and the inevitable odium which justly attaches to military desertion.

Few will deny that loyalty has its limits. A man may strive, as Churchill strove, to remain faithful to his King,

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and shrink from the very idea of turning against his lawful Sovereign. But should the Sovereign violate his oaths, infringe the rights of his people, sequester their property, and strike at their cherished convictions, must the subject still submit? Even hereditary Royalty has its duties as well as its privileges, and when a King neglects his duties and breaks his engagements, he then forfeits his rights and prerogatives. Churchill would have been a traitor to his country and to his religion had he remained loyal to James at the Revolution. In all free countries there is either a written or a well-understood agreement between ruler and subject; and James II. trampled that agreement under foot. Edward II., Richard II., and lastly James II., were deposed for breaking the contract they had made with the nation at their Coronation.

The English country gentleman has ever been renowned for his loyalty. Before the Revolution he believed that the right of the King to rule rested upon 'Right Divine,' and it has ever required much violence and tyranny on the Monarch's part to drive him into rebellion. It has never been easy for him so to break with old associations and principles as to cast in his lot with Roundheads or rebels. But in 1688 James had come to be regarded by his people more as a traitor than as a King, and they deemed that it was he, and not they, who was guilty of treason. The popular view is fairly set forth in the declaration published at Nottingham by Lord Delamere and others, which begins thus: 'We, the nobility, gentry and commonalty of three northern counties, assembled together at Nottingham for the defence of the laws, liberties and properties, according to these freeborn liberties and priviledges descended to us from our ancestors as the undoubted birthright of the subjects of this kingdom,' etc. It goes on to say: 'We own it rebellion to resist a King that governs by law; but he hath been always accounted a tyrant that made his will the law, and to resist such a one we justly esteem it no rebellion, but a necessary defence,' etc.

$\frac{22}{2}$-$\frac{1}{11}$, 1688.

Churchill was not the only deserter. Admiral Herbert not only left James, but strove by a proclamation addressed to the seamen and junior officers of the fleet to induce them to follow his example, and he accepted the command of the fleet which brought William and his soldiers to this country. Queen Anne entered fully into the plot which destroyed a fond and indulgent father, and eventually mounted the Throne from which she had helped to drive him. The consummate villainy of Sunderland, and the duplicity of Halifax, Godolphin, Somers, Sidney, Shrewsbury, and others, are known to every reader of history.

'Had I a son,' wrote the Duke of Shrewsbury, 'I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman.'* And writing upon the morality of his time, Lord Halifax, an upright statesman as men went, said: 'I agree with you, this is not an age for a man to follow the strict morality of better times, yet sure mankind is not yet so debased but that there will ever be found some few men who will scorn to join in concert with the public voice where it is not well grounded.'† Had he lived to our day, he would have found that many politicians lacked the courage, loyalty, and patriotism to oppose a popular cry, even when they knew it to be wrong, and perhaps immoral.

The Prince of Orange was in reality the chief plotter and the central figure in the Revolution, and he, of all the conspirators, gained most by it. All, including Churchill, were guilty of deception towards the King, but the greatest sinner was William III. He was hypocrite enough to have prayers offered up daily in his wife's chapel for the baby Prince of Wales, while Mary was in close correspondence with her sister upon the subject of the 'warming-pan' story, and active preparations were being made for the invasion of England. He not only lied himself, but he

* In a letter from Rome of 17, 6, 1701 to Lord Somers. Vol. ii., p. 440, Hardwick Collection.

† Letter of $\frac{6}{16}$ 1, $168\frac{9}{1}$ to his brother Henry Savile.

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made the King's daughter lie also in order to deceive her own father, and as late as the month of September she was made to write to him in affectionate terms with the object of disarming his suspicions. A contemporary ballad-monger was indeed justified when he sang:

Sept. 9, 1688.

'Mary and William, George and Anne,
Four such children never had man.'*

Could falsehood go further than the following avowal in William's letter to the Emperor? 'I have not the least intention,' he wrote, 'to do any hurt to his Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession of his kingdom, and still less to make an attempt upon the Crown, or to desire to appropriate it to myself.'† He adds further on: 'I pray God, who is powerful over all, to bless this my sincere intention. I have more than ever need for Divine direction, not being sufficiently enlightened as to what action I should take.'‡ Over and over again he assured his father-in-law that his preparations were aimed at France, and that he had no designs upon England. Had he failed, he could have returned home to reassume the government of Holland. But not so Churchill. At the age of thirty-seven, with a young wife and several children dependent upon him, he threw in his lot with the Revolution, and elected to sink or swim with the cause of religious liberty. His stake in the game was greater

* In a Jacobite song of the period I find as follows:

'There's Mary the daughter, there's Willie the cheater,
There's Geordie the drinker, there's Annie the eater.'

Another contemporary ballad runs thus:

'From undutiful children and subjects ungrateful,
From Wildman's and Churchill's crews equally hateful,
And from the outlaw'd Bishop who hath his pateful,
Libera nos Domine.'

The Bishop was Compton, and Wildman was the well-known violent republican.—Wilkins's 'Political Ballads,' vol. ii.

† Dalrymple, vol. ii., Appendix to Book V., p. 132.

‡ William to his friend Bentinck, $\frac{9}{19}$ 8, 1688.

than William's, for he staked his life, his property—indeed, his all.*

Lord Macaulay praises King William III. in extravagant terms. Yet William was the leader of the Revolution conspiracy, and where all were guilty of treachery and the basest deceit, he was prominent for his crafty dissimulation and unblushing perjury. As a contrast to his heroic idol, Macaulay singles out Churchill, and denounces him with a scathing condemnation, remarkable even from one gifted with his unrivalled command of language. The distinction which he labours to draw between Churchill and the other conspirators is manifestly unfair. Tories like Clarendon and Nottingham, and Whigs like Somers, Halifax, and Devonshire, are thankfully remembered to this day, and if we acquit William of Orange, the daughters of James II., the Ministers who were in James's secrets, and the others who helped to bring about the Revolution, we must acquit Churchill, whose conduct was actuated by higher motives than theirs. Of him it may be fairly urged, that he was only a conspirator when he had the majority of his countrymen as accomplices, and when, in common with them, he sought to save the nation.†

Let us now turn to the second question, namely, the military aspect of the charge against Marlborough.

Desertion in the face of the enemy is the greatest of military crimes. It is greater even than cowardice, for cowardice may be constitutional, whereas desertion is deliberate and premeditated. And of all forms of desertion,

* He so fully realized the gravity of his decision that he made his will in the summer of this year. We have no copy of it, but in a will made two years later by his wife she refers to the sum of £7,000 which he had left her in it to dispose of as she thought fit. The copy of her will is amongst the Spencer House Papers. It is dated 19, 9, 1690. She bequeathed £500 out of this £7,000 'to release poor people out of prison, which I desire Mr. Guydott, Sir John Briskeo, and Lord Marlborough will take care may be disposed of where they find there is most charity.'

† Talleyrand said this of himself.

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the worst is that in which an officer not only joins the ranks of the enemy himself, but carries, or attempts to carry over, his men with him.

An officer has no right to command soldiers if he be not imbued with that deep sense of honour which alone can hold an army together. Without it no system of discipline, however admirable or strictly enforced, can suffice. Can it be believed that our men fight because we give them a shilling a day, the wages of a boy or girl in a manufacturing district? Eliminate the feelings of honour and pride in their calling and in their regiments, with which we try to inspire our men, and then see if the poor private will expose his body to the enemy's bullets from the love he bears to the British taxpayer, or for the miserable pay so grudgingly allowed him.

From a military point of view, it is impossible to acquit Marlborough of desertion in 1688. Although he was not then in James's confidence and held no military command, still, as a favourite of many years' standing, and as a courtier who had been most in his secrets and had been promoted by him to high honour, we must be painfully impressed with Churchill's ingratitude and heartlessness. His conduct was in the highest degree treacherous and deceitful, and it is revolting to think of him and other officers travelling with James from Windsor to Salisbury, and showing him all outward marks of loyalty and obedience while they were in league with his enemies to betray him on the first favourable opportunity. To hold daily converse with the man whom they were seeking to destroy, and to act towards him as if they were still his faithful servants, implies a depth of baseness and treachery which is all but diabolical.

It must be freely admitted that during the ten years between 1688-1698 Marlborough's career was sullied with acts which in the present day would place him beyond the pale of society, and which furnished Swift and Macaulay with ample materials for condemning him. But the real

question is, had Marlborough the public good in view when he deserted James, or was his conduct inspired by motives of personal ambition?

There is no practical standard by which the conduct of great men of action can be measured. Patriot leaders have generally been unscrupulous as to the means they employed to secure their aims. Thus, without attempting to extenuate or excuse the gravity of his military crimes, the point to be considered is, whether in a supreme national crisis his duty to his country did not outweigh and override his duty as a soldier? In 1688 Marlborough was something more than a mere soldier, owing military obedience to his Sovereign before all things. He was a power in the country. The time was one of intense excitement, religious as well as national, the forces were evenly balanced, and Marlborough's influence, into whichever scale it should be cast, would decide the issue. The question he put to himself was, Should he remain faithful to James and rivet, perhaps for ever, the yoke of despotism and Popery upon the neck of the English people, or should he, by transferring his allegiance and service to William, set them free?

As I read history, England owes him a debt of gratitude for the calculated deceit which marked his desertion, because it enabled William to accomplish his carefully planned plot without bloodshed. Had Marlborough stood by James as Feversham did, the Revolution could not have succeeded, if indeed it would have been attempted, and beyond all doubt, he fully appreciated the gravity of the step which he was about to take.

In the 'Articles for the better Government of his Majesty's Land-Forces in Pay,' published by James II. in 1688, Article ix. runs thus: 'Whoever shall go about to entice or persuade either officer or soldier to join or engage in any traitorous or rebellious act, either against the royal person of the King or kingly government, shall suffer death for it; and whoever shall not reveal to his superior officer

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such a conspiracy so soon as ever it shall come to his knowledge shall be judged equally guilty with the contrivers of such a plot or conspiracy, and consequently shall suffer the same penalty.' To 'the oath of fidelity to be taken by every officer and soldier in the army' during the previous reign, James added the following sentence: 'And I do likewise swear that I believe that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King; and I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person or against those that are commissioned by him.'* It would almost seem that when framing these 'Articles of War' he foresaw the treason which his own illegal acts would bring about.

Highly disciplined though our army be, its history proves that it has seldom fought well in what it believed to be an unrighteous cause. Unless the Rank and File are interested in their work, there will be no enthusiasm, and from an army without enthusiasm little can be expected. In the cause for which James now ordered them to fight, what could he hope for? He had himself set them an example in law-breaking by his appointment of Roman Catholic officers to the command of regiments in direct violation of the law of the land. The law is and must always be the foundation of military discipline; and when it is openly and defiantly broken by the King, the discipline which holds his army together withers and dies. Although the British soldier is a volunteer, he is no mercenary, no mere hireling who will fight in any cause, be it just or unjust, for the Prince or Government who pays him. He is not a mere piece of machinery to be wound up like a clock, or regulated like a steam-engine or a spinning-jenny. He has not only a body to be shot, but he is endowed with the same feelings and the same love of life as other people, and with the same respect and enthusiasm for a righteous cause as the best in the land. His heart—for he, too, has

* Taken from copy in my possession of the 'Rules and Articles for the better Government of his Majesty's Land-Forces in Pay,' 1688.

a heart—must be in the contest, and if it be not, there is little to be got from him. The Government or the General who counts upon the British soldier to fight well in an unrighteous and unjust cause, relies for support upon a reed that will pierce the hand which leans upon it.

It has been urged by a host of writers that it was Churchill's clear duty as an officer and a gentleman to at least resign his commission before entering into a treasonable conspiracy against his master. In ordinary circumstances that would unquestionably have been the proper course. But the circumstances were not ordinary; they were most peculiar; for his master and benefactor had become a despot, who could only be disposed of either by assassination or by a revolution; and had Churchill suddenly quitted James's service, the existence of a plot would have been instantly guessed, and those suspected of conspiracy would have been sent to the Tower. Any open attempt to drive James from the Throne would have failed as signally as in Monmouth's case. French troops were constantly at hand to crush any attempt at rebellion, and unless James could be lulled into a false sense of security, or otherwise kept from calling in those troops, no Revolution would have a chance of success. This task of deceiving the King was cleverly and cunningly effected by Sunderland, a man above all others skilled in the crooked ways of treasonable conspiracy. From the first it was evident that, if James's army remained loyal, William could never reach London, and he knew this better than most men. Several military and naval officers joined William in Holland before he set out for England, including Colonel Tollemache, Admiral Herbert, and Lord Churchill's brother-in-law, Colonel Godfrey; and had Churchill followed their example, none could with any justice point a finger at him. It was the course which a gentleman of the present day would instinctively follow, but in the extremely difficult and trying position in which Churchill found himself few of his contemporaries would have done so. The

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universal determination was to get rid of James at any price and to replace him by William of Orange, and they deliberately threw to the winds all scruples as to the means by which that deed should be accomplished. No deception was deemed too base, no treachery too ignoble, provided the desired end was achieved.

When William landed in Torbay, he came with an army prepared for war, but he came also with the knowledge that the great bulk of the people were on his side. James's only chance, therefore, was a successful battle, and this chance was shipwrecked when Churchill joined his enemies. Marshal Ney was shot for acts less reprehensible. But the cause for which Ney deserted his lawful King was lost at Waterloo, whilst that for which Churchill left his master was everywhere triumphant. In what a different light does success often cause so-called crime to be viewed! It changes rebellion, for which we hang men, into revolution, for which we crown them with honour! Churchill was guilty of high treason against James, but he was not guilty of the greater crime of treason against his country. A close study of Marlborough's proceedings in 1688 leads to the conviction that he had no misgivings of conscience about them. He intrigued and conspired against James and planned his overthrow, but he did so in company with the best men in public life. In these days of cold scepticism it is not easy to convince men that Marlborough left James on a point of religious principle; but beyond all doubt he firmly believed that in seeking to create William King he was serving God by furthering the interests of Protestantism. His conduct at the Revolution, and his later treasonable correspondence with James, are hard to reconcile with common honesty; but the deceitfulness into which he was led through his determination to rid the country of James II. did not strike him as sinful or dishonourable, for in following the course which he deliberately chose he acted as he believed was best for England.

Many of the blessings which we enjoy were brought about

by questionable means, and the record of the methods by which some of them were secured is disagreeable reading. In some instances the authors of these blessings were guilty of a baseness, a moral turpitude, and a perfidy which, if practised in private life, would have stamped them as shameless criminals. The Revolution is a case in point. We all owe it much, and our forefathers owed it still more. May we not fairly forget the deceit and treachery of those who plotted against James in our remembrance of what they accomplished for England? The disease from which England suffered in 1688 was deep-seated, and called for drastic remedies, but thanks to the Revolution we have enjoyed two centuries of freedom in thought and action unknown elsewhere.

There is no proof, beyond James's own assertions, that Churchill ever planned to seize the King and hand him over to William. The terms of Churchill's letter to James when he left him — it was a carefully-prepared document — are entirely opposed to any such supposition, and his subsequent conduct gives it an evident denial. He meant, he said, to protect James's 'royal person and lawful rights with all tender concerns.'* We have also Churchill's positive denial of this accusation, made to Lord Clarendon at Berwick, near Hindon, where William took up his quarters the day before he entered Salisbury. We are told that he repudiated the accusation 'with many protestations, saying he would never be ungrateful to the King; that he would venture his life in defence of his person; and that he had never left him, but that he saw our religion and country were in danger of being destroyed.'† Churchill even went so far as to abstain from voting in Parliament against James, and he studiously avoided taking any active part in the military operations against him in 1688, and again in 1690, until in each instance James had fled into France. The

$\frac{3}{13}$ 12, 1688

* See Churchill's letter to James at p. 41, vol. ii.; and see p. 35.

† Clarendon's Diary, by Singer, vol. ii., p. 214.

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story of Sir G. Hewit's death-bed confession, that Churchill had arranged to assassinate James at Warminster, is arrant nonsense.*

The Revolution was the first occasion upon which Churchill took part in political life. He had always declined a seat in the House of Commons; and since he had become an English peer he had taken no prominent part in Parliamentary discussions. His *rôle* was to keep aloof from the intrigues which then, as now, beset party politics, and, as a soldier and a diplomatist, to occupy, if possible, a foremost place in the direction of public affairs without identifying himself with any particular faction.

* Hewit alleged that the Bishop of London was privy to this intended murder!

WILLIAM III.

From a Miniature in the possession of
His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh

CHAPTER LIII.

THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM AND MARY—JAMES LANDS IN IRELAND.

William finds the English are not cordial to him—Divine Right and Loyalty—Why William prizes the position of King—He declares war with France—James lands in Ireland—William resolves to send Schomberg there.

THE coronation of William and Mary took place in April, the soldier Bishop of London performing the rite, at which Marlborough was present. William had now secured one great object of his ambition, and he meant to use it as a stepping-stone to the fulfilment of a still dearer purpose, namely, the abasement of Lewis XIV. When that imperious King destroyed the walls of Orange, the offended Stadtholder said in anger, that 'he would one day make him feel what it was to have injured a Prince of his House.' He frequently repeated this, with an earnestness which proved how deeply he resented the insult.* The longing to humble France was never absent from his thoughts, and every year of his life it grew stronger. Indeed, it may be said that this dominating idea survived him, and came to be shared by so many Kings and Princes that the very foundations of Europe were shaken by the forces it set in motion. 1689.

It was whilst William, Mary, and the Princess Anne were engaged in dressing for the coronation, that they received 1689.

* Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 9, of Book V.

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the intelligence that King James, with his illegitimate sons, the Duke of Berwick and Henry—the Grand Prior—had landed at Kinsale some weeks before.

William's vigorous brain was allied to a frail and feeble body. He had never known robust health, and the sword was fast wearing out the scabbard. A man with less character, less determination, would have lain down and died in peace, but for him there could be no peace. Ireland was in arms for his father-in-law and for the Roman Catholic faith. He must be up and doing; and though weary and broken in body, his undaunted spirit urged him on. His immediate objects might be partly personal, and more Dutch than English; but their accomplishment meant freedom and Protestantism to England, and to Europe security from French aggression. To achieve these objects he ardently desired to live, even though life should be but a long-drawn-out period of suffering. He was prepared to brave everything if he could but accomplish what he conceived to be his special mission. He says touchingly in reference to that mission: 'I never feared death; there have been times when I should have wished for it, but now that this great new prospect opens before me I do wish to stay here a little longer.'

He found that his new subjects looked on him with suspicion as a foreigner. They had suffered so much from the Stewarts that they were determined to place effectual restrictions upon the initiative of their newly-elected King. In fact, they sought to deny him the exercise of sovereign authority without the consent of Parliament. The Convention, which at first acted as a Parliament, passed resolutions to make it clear to him that he had no power to dispense with any law, or to suspend its execution; that Commissions such as that which James had appointed to try ecclesiastical cases were contrary to the Constitution; that the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament, was opposed to the ancient rights of the people; and that taxes

could be imposed by Parliament alone. But although William reigned only by virtue of an Act of Parliament, he was quite as tenacious of the royal prerogative as any of the Stewarts. He had secured to the English people the free exercise of their religion, but he had no intention of parting with any political power which he could retain in his own hands.

Although the principle of hereditary right received its death-blow at the Revolution, it did not actually expire until, on the death of Queen Anne, a simple Act of Parliament made the Elector of Hanover King of England. As long as any Stewart sat upon the throne, the notion of 'Divine Right' survived. It was a romantic sentiment, associated in men's minds with much that was great and glorious in our history. It served to fire the dull minds of the uneducated with gleams of hero-worship, and the loyalty which it engendered brightened the most commonplace existence. William soon discovered the difficulty of sustaining the sentiment of loyalty when the hereditary principle had been destroyed, or its continuity broken. Not all the renown with which the great Napoleon glorified his family could make the French nation feel for the Bonapartes what the Jacobites felt for the descendants of James II. Napoleon's soldiers were devoted to him personally as to the leader who had surfeited them with glory, but there was no 'Divine Right' to foster in their children a sentiment of allegiance to the next generation of his family. King James's right to the throne was admitted by all, and it was only a conviction of the impossibility of maintaining law, liberty, or the Protestant faith under his rule which caused men like Churchill to transfer their fealty to William. Their loyalty to him was a loyalty of expediency, and his hold upon their allegiance was but weak.

Highly as William prized the Crown of England as a dignity, it had a yet greater value for him in view of his policy of determined hostility to Lewis XIV. With his

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clearness of vision in all matters relating to the affairs of Europe, he saw how much the Revolution must alter the general situation. It was a death-blow to the supremacy of Lewis, and a new barrier against the universal domination to which he aspired. As Stadtholder William had been able to combine some of the most powerful States of Europe in the League of Augsburg against France, and now, as King of England, he could not only deal on terms of equality with the Great Powers, but he could compel England to take a leading part in that imposing alliance. Hitherto England had been practically neutral, but now the assistance which Lewis was rendering to James in Ireland afforded ample grounds for an open rupture, and Parliament, by requesting that war should be declared against France, relieved William from all difficulty on that score.

$\frac{8}{18}$ 5, 1689. The declaration of war which followed was made in May with all due formalities, and is worth reading as an able specimen of its kind.* The King declared that, having been called upon by God to rescue England from imminent peril, he felt bound henceforward to promote her welfare. This could only be done by preventing the dangers which threatened her from abroad. The encroachments of French fishermen on our coast of Newfoundland were dwelt upon as forcibly as they might be to-day, were we anxious to pick a quarrel with France. The attacks made by Lewis upon our possessions in Hudson's Bay and on the coast of New England, even whilst he was engaged in negotiations for peace, were bitterly complained of. Then came the old sentimental grievance of 'the right of the flag,' and the 'violation of our sovereignty of the narrow seas which, in all ages, has been asserted by our predecessors.' But, as the proclamation went on to say, what should most closely touch Englishmen was the French

* This declaration of war, which exposed at length William's reasons for the step, was said to have been drawn up by Somers, afterwards Lord Chancellor.

King's barbarous treatment of Protestants, and the unusual cruelties inflicted upon them. It referred to the endeavours of Lewis to overturn the English Government, and to the troops he had recently sent to Ireland; and concluded by stating that William took up arms in this great undertaking relying on the help of God, and that he 'thought fit to declare, and did hereby declare, war against the French King.'

With William the love of war was a passion, and he longed, with all his heart, to take the field himself. His thoughts were with the Allied army assembled near Maestricht. He talked to Halifax about delegating his authority to Mary, adding that she would govern the nation better than he did. The objections to his leaving the kingdom at so critical a time were discussed, and Halifax 'asked him if it was not because he had a mind to command the army against France' that he thought of doing so. 'He said nothing, but did not deny it.' 'The world is a beast,' said he, 'that must be confined before it be tamed. Princes have more excuse for using art, since it is everybody's business to deceive them.'* But with the Highlands in open rebellion, and James in possession of Ireland, he soon realized the impossibility of going abroad then. He consequently chose the Prince of Waldeck—a General who had seen much active service—to lead the Allied army in the Netherlands, and he appointed his old friend, Duke Schomberg, vigorous in spite of his eighty years, to command against James in Ireland, with Count Solmes as his second in command. William's prospects in the sister island looked black, and James's presence there constituted a challenge which could not be refused. There the great question must be decided, 'Who was to be King of England?' To Ireland, therefore, he ought to have sent every available soldier, and it was the extreme of unwisdom, and a direct violation of the first principles of military science, that he should, with a small army, em-

* Spencer House Papers.

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bark in another war elsewhere. His true policy would have been to strike hard before James had time to consolidate his power in Ireland, and before all the loyal men had been driven from the country by Tyrconnel's oppressive measures. But the welfare of Holland was still foremost in William's thoughts. In the interests of that country he had, as King of England, made a treaty with Holland and her allies for a combined war against France, and he had, unhappily, engaged to send an English contingent into the field. But since that agreement had been entered into, the landing of James in Ireland had altered the whole situation, and he should at once have abandoned all idea of sending English troops to the Low Countries. Had the 8,000 good English soldiers who went there under Marlborough, together with the reinforcements despatched in the course of the winter and following spring to Ireland, been originally added to Schomberg's army, the question decided at the Boyne and Aughrim would have been settled in 1689.

Before entering upon the narrative of Marlborough's campaign under Waldeck in the Netherlands, a short outline of the events in Ireland in the year 1689 is necessary.

CHAPTER LIV.

SCHOMBERG'S DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND.

A French Army lands at Cork—James's brass money—Tyrconnel's Army, and his hatred of England—William raises many new regiments—Hamilton's mission to Tyrconnel.

Two days after his arrival at Kinsale, James went to Cork, where he held a Court, and walked in state between two monks to hear Mass in the Red Abbey, for in Ireland he felt that he might openly display his devotion to the Catholic faith.* He brought with him from Brest a fleet of thirty French men-of-war, seven frigates, and some fire-ships. A second trip made by this fleet brought over Count Lauzun and about 5,000 seasoned French troops, who fought throughout the ensuing campaigns with the greatest courage.† According to agreement with Lewis XIV., 5,000 Irish soldiers, under General MacCarthy, were sent in exchange to France, and these men formed the original nucleus of the famous Irish brigade in the French service. The landing of James and a French army in Ireland was effected without any molestation from the English fleet, which then, as now, was supposed to guard the Channel and protect these islands from invasion. Yet in 1689 our

* Caulfeild's 'Council Book of Kinsale'; Gibson's 'Cork.' Mr. Robert Day, of Cork, says in a letter: 'I remember being told by the late John Humphreys, librarian to the Royal Cork Institution, that his grandfather remembered seeing James II. walk between two monks to the Red Abbey.' See also Smith's 'Cork,' vol. ii., p. 197.

† Campbell's 'Naval History,' vol. ii.

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fleet was much stronger than usual, for the whole Dutch navy was acting in concert with that of England.

Lewis had not been over-liberal in money, so from the first James was much hampered by want of means. There was but little gold or silver remaining in the country, for when property became insecure under Tyrconnel's purely Irish government, 'the English, who had all the wealth of the kingdom in their hands,' had sent their money and portable goods and valuables to England for safe keeping. In order to obtain the sinews of war, James had recourse to the old and unwise expedient of debasing the coinage. He had shillings and half-crowns struck in bronze, obtained mostly by melting down old cannon. Hence the name 'gun money,' by which it is still remembered. Many English settlers were defrauded by having considerable debts, long due them, repaid in this debased coinage, and Lady Tyrconnel is said to have thus paid off a mortgage on the property of a son-in-law.*

James's policy had always been to govern Ireland through a devoted Roman Catholic Lord Deputy, like Tyrconnel, at the head of a Roman Catholic army, whose religion would be a guarantee for its loyalty. This would also ensure his having an army, upon whose fidelity he could count, always ready for use in England. At the time of his accession the army in Ireland was only between six and seven thousand strong, all being Protestants, but by a clever adaptation of what is now known as the Reserve or Short Service System, Tyrconnel had increased the number to 40,000 fighting men available for service at short notice. All were Roman Catholics, and mostly descended from the attainted rebels of 1641.† When raised by James to be Lord Deputy, Tyrconnel dismissed all Protestants from the army on the plea that they were 'Oliverians,' or the issue of such. He took the military clothing from about 4,000 of these men, and sent them

* Camden Society Papers of 1841; 'Macariæ Excidium,' pp. 68, 69.

† Kane's 'Wars in Ireland,' p. 10.

away almost naked, to perish from cold and starvation as a warning to their co-religionists throughout the country. The disbanded Protestant officers, to the number of about 300, mostly went to Holland to swell the ranks of the army with which William invaded England and subsequently dispersed Tyrconnel's armies at the Boyne and at Aughrim. Tyrconnel proceeded to disarm the Protestant inhabitants as a punishment for their alleged sympathy with Monmouth's rebellion, and strove to drive out the English landlords by annulling the Act of Settlement. By this means he hoped to restore their lands to the Irish, whose property had been previously confiscated, and to become a large landed proprietor himself. From hatred of England he sought to make the Administration in Ireland purely Roman Catholic, and to secure this great end he was prepared to see Ireland placed under the protectorate of France.*

His hatred of England was equalled by his craze for personal aggrandizement, and from being a landless adventurer he soon contrived to become the possessor of vast estates. His rule is still remembered as cruelly oppressive to all classes of Protestants. He dismissed all officials of that faith until there was but one Protestant Sheriff in all Ireland, and he had been appointed in mistake for a Roman Catholic of the same name. He expelled the Fellows from Trinity College, Dublin, closed the Protestant churches, and passed an Act of Attainder especially aimed at all who did not go to Mass.† At one time no more than five Protestants were allowed to meet together in Dublin under pain of death, and at last, all who were not permanent residents were ordered to quit the city within twenty-four hours.‡ Protestants were compelled to surrender

* He seized the plate of Trinity College, put in his own Provost, and turned the buildings into barracks for his soldiers. He induced his Parliament to attaint over 40 peers and over 2,200 esquires and gentlemen, and to adjudge all of them guilty of high treason without being heard. 'The State of the Protestants in Ireland,' etc., etc., by King, the Archbishop of Dublin.

† Welwood's Memoirs, p. 399.

‡ Mackintosh, p. 400.

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their arms, and none were allowed to walk the streets between the hours of ten p.m. and five a.m., nor to show themselves anywhere in the event of an alarm. Those who transgressed these arbitrary laws were to be dealt with by court-martial, and punished with death or imprisonment. For all the chief posts in the Administration, Tyrconnel was careful to select men of known hostility to England whose policy he could direct. He cared nothing for their moral character. Sir A. Fitton, whom he made Lord Chancellor, was taken from prison to assume the ermine of office. A priest named Stafford, and a man named O'Neal, the son of a notorious murderer, were made Masters in Chancery, and the bigoted Rice, a profligate and a gambler, was created Lord Chief Baron. With such men in office, neither the Protestant Irish nor the British settlers had much chance of justice or fair-play. They certainly met with none. When James landed, all Ireland, with the exception of a small portion of the northern counties, was in possession of Tyrconnel's troops. Londonderry and Enniskillen were the only fortified cities that held out for William. The Roman Catholic garrisons from both these places had been withdrawn by Tyrconnel in the preceding year when he sent 3,000 troops to help James against William; and when, subsequently, he endeavoured to replace them, the inhabitants shut their gates and refused them admission.

Upon William's arrival in England, the peers assembled in London, when requesting him to assume the reins of government pending the meeting of Parliament, had specially begged him to take measures for the protection of the Protestants in Ireland. At that time he had few soldiers whom he could send there, but he promised arms and ammunition. He does not seem to have realized how serious was the danger of allowing affairs in Ireland to drift, for his thoughts were centred more upon European combinations against France than upon Irish troubles. But the landing of James at Kinsale made the position so

grave that he was compelled to raise additional troops, and eighteen regiments of Foot and some four of Horse, many of which still exist, were added to the regular army. A large proportion of the men, amongst whom were many weavers, shoemakers and butchers, were raised in and near London.* Three of the regiments were composed of French Huguenots. All were raised and clothed in about six weeks, but there was a great dearth of arms, for when Feversham disbanded the army few of the muskets, etc., were collected, and the supply in the Tower soon ran short.† For these new regiments matchlocks, pikes, etc., had to be obtained, at considerable expense, from Holland.

Before James landed, many thought, and not without reason, that Tyrconnel would, if properly approached, quietly surrender the government of Ireland to the *de facto* King of England. William resolved therefore to send General Richard Hamilton to Ireland, with that object in view. He was a Roman Catholic and was said to possess much influence with his friend Tyrconnel.‡ He had come to England as Colonel of one of those Irish regiments which had been sent by the Lord Deputy to help James in 1688, and he was looked upon as a man of honour. He gladly undertook to secure the peaceable surrender of Ireland, and promised that if he failed he would forthwith return to William. Upon reaching Dublin he found Tyrconnel much depressed at the general aspect of affairs. His Sovereign was an exile in France, and William, to the satisfaction of the English people, was in occupation of the Throne. The game, he thought, was up, and he contemplated making the best terms he could for the peaceable resignation of his office, as the course most

* Luttrell, 25, 3, $168\frac{8}{9}$.

† Story's 'Wars in Ireland,' Part I., p. 6. Dalrymple, Part II., Book IV., p. 130.

‡ He was brother to the Anthony Hamilton who wrote the De Grammont Memoirs, and his brother had been Lady Tyrconnel's first husband. He belonged to the Abercorn family.

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likely to conduce to his own advantage. Instead of encouraging him to do this, Hamilton, with a curious excess of bad faith, assured him falsely that affairs in England were steadily turning against William, and pressed him strongly to adopt an opposite course. Tyrconnel consented, and Hamilton, staying on in Dublin, accepted a high command in the Irish army.* There can be little doubt that it was this mission of Hamilton to Ireland which led to all the subsequent difficulties and fighting there. Had he not talked Tyrconnel over, that gentleman would have made terms with William, and have handed over the government of Ireland to him quietly. We should have had no Battle of the Boyne or 'broken Treaty of Limerick.' When Hamilton was brought a prisoner before William at the Boyne, and asked if the Irish would fight any more, he replied, 'Yes, sir, upon my honour, I believe they will.' William, turning away from him, repeated once or twice in a scornful tone, 'Your honour!' William felt his treacherous conduct deeply; for, relying upon his good faith as a gentleman, and upon his assurances of success, he had unfortunately postponed sending either reinforcements or arms to the Irish Protestants, with the result that his supporters were left helpless at Tyrconnel's mercy. When talking to Halifax of this matter before he went to Ireland, William said that Hamilton had broken his word to him. The wily Minister, in his record of this conversation, adds: 'A rule to judge such men by. The taking another man's word for a security showeth the man that *taketh it so is not given to break it.*'

$\frac{4}{14}$ 4, 1689.

Though the Protestant settlers in Ireland were in dire need of help, William had not thought it wise to send them troops whilst the condition of things in Scotland seemed so critical. The chivalrous Claverhouse had raised the Jacobite standard, and it was not until the news of his death reached London that orders were issued for the embarkation of the regiments encamped at Chester for

* Harris's 'Life of William III.,' p. 210, vol. ii.

service in Ireland.* They were mainly composed of newly-raised troops, entirely unsuited for the hardships of a campaign in such a wet, marshy country; for in former times English soldiers, upon first arrival in Ireland, suffered much from the climate, and upon this occasion their sufferings were more than usually severe. CHAPTER LIV. 1689.

Marshal Schomberg was selected to command this army. Aug. 31-Sept. 7, 1689. He had come to England with William, and was regarded as the most experienced captain in Europe. He certainly was one of the ablest of those military adventurers of the seventeenth century who hired their services to any State in want of officers. Having entered the Dutch service as a soldier of fortune, he afterwards served with distinction in the Prussian, French and Portuguese armies, and 1676. when in command of Lewis XIV.'s troops in Flanders he fought against William, and compelled him to raise the siege of Maestricht. Born of an English mother, he had always clung to the Reformed faith, although he frequently served Roman Catholic princes.† He was a man of sound 1689. judgment, calm in battle and wise, though inclined to be domineering in council; but being accustomed to command only well-trained regulars, he was too much of a haughty pedant to lead successfully the mixed and raw troops which now composed his army. Like many an officer of our present army, he did not understand the feelings of troops constituted as the Militia and Volunteers of England and America have always been. His manner towards them was the reverse of conciliatory. He looked down upon them as irregulars, and took no trouble to establish between himself and them that cordial sympathy—known in all armies as comradeship—which must bind together the

* The regiments sent to Enniskillen and Londonderry were the Queen Dowager's (now the Queen's), Stewart's (now the Norfolk), and Hanmer's (now the Devon). They were under the command of Major-General Kirke.

† His mother was a daughter of Lord Dudley. He was an excellent and graceful horseman.

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leader and his soldiers before campaigns can be successful. His opinions carried great weight with William in all army affairs. His newly-raised army was badly found in everything, and, barely numbering 10,000 men, was wholly inadequate for its task. It landed in August at Bangor, in Belfast Lough, and marched south as far as Dundalk, beyond which it could not force a passage. It was decimated by disease, and neglected by its officers, who were, as a body, inefficient and ignorant of their business. Early in November Schomberg broke up his wretched camp at Dundalk, and retreated north to take up winter quarters in the towns and villages of Ulster, where large numbers died from the effects of recent hardships, general misery and want of food. The history of this disastrous campaign is most instructive, and should be carefully studied by English officers.

CHAPTER LV.

THE BATTLE OF WALCOURT.

The Prince of Waldeck as a Commander—Marlborough embarks for Flanders — Marshal d'Humières—Marlborough's fighting round Walcourt—Rejoicings at the British victory.

It is pleasant to turn from Schomberg's ill-starred campaign to the successful operations in which Marlborough took a distinguished part in the Netherlands this year. The Prince of Waldeck was then sixty-nine years of age, and as a statesman he was wise and of sound judgment. But though well skilled in the science and art of war, he was, like William, almost always unsuccessful in battle, and his ill-luck was so notorious that he did not command the confidence which soldiers should always feel in their leader.

William selected Marlborough to command the English contingent under Waldeck, and the appointment was popular, for the people were already beginning to murmur at their new King's partiality for Dutchmen. Marlborough ordered his troops to embark at Deptford, Harwich and other convenient places,* 'By virtue of his Majesty's orders to me

$\frac{2}{3}$-$\frac{4}{5}$, 1689.

* This English contingent consisted of the following regiments: 2nd Troop of Guards, now the 2nd Life Guards — these 'troops' were in numbers and importance very much like the present Household Cavalry regiments; the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards ('Blues'); one battalion of the 2nd Foot Guards, now Coldstream; the Lord Admiral's Regiment—'The Yellow-coated Maritime Regiment,' with which our Marine Force originated—which, upon arrival in Holland,

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directed, relating to the forces going for Holland.' A little later on the Secretary for War informed him 'that the frigate he wished to have for his own convoy was required for the Guards, so that his Majesty said he could either wait for their departure or venture without convoy.' 'The Articles of War, signed by the King' were to be sent him before he sailed from Harwich. He landed at Rotterdam about the end of May, found the English troops already disembarked, and, having made arrangements for their advance to Maestricht, went there himself to join the Prince of Waldeck. After discussing future plans together, they visited the Allied camp, and before leaving it Marlborough sent home the following report:

$\frac{17}{27}$ 5, 1689.

$\frac{23-5}{2-6}$, 1689.

'For Mr. Blaythwait, Secretary at War, att his house neer the Horse Guard, London.—Maestrich, May 25th.—SIR,—I have not heard from (you) sense I left England, which I hope is ocationed by your not knowing how to direct your's to me. If you will call at my lodgings, my wife will lett you have the same direction she has for writing. I desier you will constantly lett me have what passes in Ireland. I must desier you will give the enclosed to my Lord Portland, there being own in it for the King. I desier you would send me over a copie of the oath that Monsieur Schomberg gave to the officers about ther never taking nor giving money for ther employment, because I am resolved to give the same oath here. I goe to-moroe for Boldnecke, and from thence to some other guarisons, to draw out six regiments, the other four not yett being ready to march.—I am, sir, your frend and servant, MARLBOROUGH.'*

was incorporated in the 2nd Foot Guards; one battalion of the Scots Foot, now the Scots Guard; one battalion of the Royal Regiment, now the Royal Scots; Prince George of Denmark's Regiment, now the 'Buffs' or East Kent; the Royal Fusiliers, Hodges' Regiment, now the Bedfordshire; O'Farrel's Regiment, now the Scottish Fusiliers; and of the three following regiments, afterwards disbanded, Hale's, Collier's and Fitzpatrick's.

* This letter, in the British Museum (21,506, f. 96), is clearly written.

Accused as he has been of inordinate greed for money, and of indifference as to the means he employed to obtain riches, this letter, together with other papers, proves his earnestness in wishing to suppress the traffic in army commissions and civil appointments. A few days later we find him enquiring the King's pleasure whether he will 'have the Regiments of Foot larn the Dutch Execise, or else to continue the English.'

According to the plan of campaign arranged amongst the States allied against France, the Prussian and Northern Powers, under the Elector of Brandenburg, were to attack Bonn; the Duke of Lorraine, with the Imperialists, was to manœuvre on the Upper Rhine; and the Spaniards, acting independently, were to advance upon Courtrai, level the French lines there, and raise contributions. In May Brandenburg besieged Kaiserwerth, which surrendered, the garrison being rendered helpless by internal feuds.

The Allied army, augmented by Marlborough's division to nearly 35,000 men, remained between Judoigne and Tirlemont for nearly three months. It was too weak to assume the offensive, and its movements were consequently slow and cautious. Towards the end of June it marched for Fleurus, crossed the Sambre in August, and encamped about a mile in rear of the little enclosed town of Walcourt, into which a regiment of Lunenburgers was thrown as a temporary garrison.* The following morning several strong parties were sent forward to forage in the fields and villages, protected by some 600 English and 200 foreign troops under Colonel Hodges.† He occupied the village of Forgé with his Foot, whilst he sent forward his Dutch and Danish Horse to cover the front.

$\frac{1}{2}\frac{8}{8}$, 1689.

$\frac{1}{2}\frac{7}{7}$ 8, 1689.

* Walcourt was then in the bishopric of Liège, and was the chief town of the country between the Sambre and the Meuse. It is nine miles south of Charleroi.

† Colonel Hodges commanded what is now the Bedfordshire Regiment. He was killed in 1692 at the battle of Steenkirk, whilst at the head of that regiment. In 1680 he had distinguished himself at Tangier when captain of the grenadier company of his regiment.

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Marshal d'Humières, high in favour at Versailles, commanded the French army opposed to the Prince of Waldeck.* According to the orders which had reached him early in the year, the Marshal was to act on the defensive; but a recent reinforcement of some 6,000 men now emboldened him to force the Allies to battle, and supported by orders just received from Court, he moved towards them. On the morning in question, his advanced guard of three cavalry regiments, having reached Bossy, where it was intended to encamp the army for the day, discovered on the plain near that village the foraging parties of Waldeck's army, guarded by the Allied horse, whom Hodges had sent to the front. This covering party was quickly driven in with loss, so the preconcerted signal of three guns was fired to warn the dispersed foragers to get back with all speed to the Allies' camp—a signal which soon brought Marlborough to the threatened point. Hodges, skilfully posting his musketeers behind the hedges and enclosures of the village of Forgé, hoped to hold the enemy in check until the main body had time to turn out and take up a fighting formation. He maintained a gallant but unequal fight in and around Forgé for about two hours, though several serious attacks of cavalry and dismounted Dragoons were made upon him. His stout defence of the position enabled the foraging parties to make good their retreat to camp.† He then fell back to a mill, from behind the walls and outbuildings of which his marksmen did great execution. The main body of the enemy coming now into action, no further defence of the mill could be of any use, though Hodges' regiment still fought with splendid determination. Marlborough, seeing the hopelessness of

* D'Humières owed his favour to Louvois, who admired his wife. He was no general, and is one of the three punctilious French marshals referred to in Chapter XIII.

† 'Histoire Militaire du Regne de Louis le Grand,' Paris, 1726, vol. ii., p. 160. A party of the 'Buffs' took part in this fighting round the village. See Cannon's history of that regiment.

any further attempt to defend this advanced position, ordered the defenders to fall back and occupy some high ground near Walcourt. The retreat of troops already engaged in the face of superior forces, always a difficult and trying operation, was upon this occasion effected in good order. It was helped by some Horse whom Waldeck had sent forward to support Marlborough. The little town of Walcourt, surrounded by a strong wall flanked with old-fashioned towers, and strengthened by a ditch, was safe against a *coup de main*. The French field-guns could make no impression upon its masonry, and to attempt its capture by open assault was an operation which could only have commended itself to a General ignorant of his profession; yet this is what D'Humières did attempt. He was emboldened by the success with which he had hitherto overcome all resistance, and by the conviction that he could not attack the Allied army until he should have obtained possession of the town. The French and Swiss Guards and the German regiment of Greder were accordingly sent forward under the Count de Soissons, with orders to carry the place by storm. Four guns were put in position to play at close range upon the walls where it was intended to make the assault. At the head of the attacking column were the grenadiers of the celebrated regiments of Soissons and of Guiche, with the French Guard and the regiments of Champagne and of Greder in support. To the east of the town was the raised plateau to which Marlborough had retreated; and here, between two roads, Waldeck brought into action ten or twelve guns, which made great havoc in the French advancing columns. The enemy's splendid infantry, however, pushed gallantly forward notwithstanding the heavy fire which it encountered, and the many streams, some of them waist-deep, that had to be crossed. A party of about 200 French Guardsmen, undismayed by the stout resistance and the numerous obstacles they encountered, found their way as far as the gate, and endeavoured to set fire to it, but most of them were killed by

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musketry from the walls. Column after column was launched against the place, only to be beaten back with heavy loss. Although protected by their walls, the defenders at last began to show signs of nervousness and to clamour for reinforcements. Owing, however, to the curious formation of the ground, it was no easy matter to get reinforcements into the place from the north; but about two p.m. Brigadier-General Tollemache at the head of the Coldstream Guards, together with a German battalion, reached the town after a severe struggle.*

Realizing at last that he could make no impression upon the place itself, D'Humières sent his troops to attack the hill to the west of it. The position occupied by the Allies was by no means a good one for an outnumbered force, and affairs began to assume a critical aspect for Waldeck's little army. It soon became evident that nothing but a counter-attack, well delivered on the French flanks, could save the Allies, and this was accordingly determined upon. General Slagenberg was ordered to advance from one side of the town, whilst Marlborough led forward his English troops from the other, to attack the French simultaneously. Marlborough, placing himself at the head of the Life Guards and Horse Guards, struck the enemy in flank, and, after a contest which raged furiously until past six in the evening, drove him back with great loss. The French army retired in confusion, leaving behind guns, ammunition, many prisoners, and about 2,000 killed and wounded. The next morning between 500 and 600 dead Frenchmen were counted around the walls of the town. The Allied loss was inconsiderable.† The country did not

* Tollemache had already seen a good deal of active service, and was now under Marlborough as second in command of the English contingent. He had commanded one of the British regiments in the Dutch service, and was killed in 1694 when taking part in the unfortunate attack on Brest. William had rewarded his fidelity to his cause by making him Colonel of the Coldstream Guards and Governour of Portsmouth, vice Berwick, who had flown with his father.

† In the *London Gazettes* from $\frac{22}{1}$-$\frac{8}{9}$, to $\frac{2}{12}$ 9, 1689, the French loss

favour a rapid pursuit, but Waldeck pushed the beaten enemy as well as he could. In his despatch to the States-General, written on the evening of the engagement, he says: 'All our troops showed a great courage and desire to come to a battle, and the English who were engaged in this action particularly behaved themselves very well.'*

The French infantry owed their safety to the firmness and courage of their cavalry and to its skilful handling by Villars, who was promoted to be Maréchal-de-camp for his services upon the occasion.† The French Foot displayed a disciplined courage that stamped them as excellent soldiers, though the plan of attack showed want of generalship on the part of their commander. To send men as he did in broad daylight over the open, to knock their heads against the stone walls which surrounded Walcourt, was the action of a madman. Notwithstanding his wife's charms and his own interest at Court, he was deprived of his command, and no General was ever more justly punished for failure.‡

The honour and glory of the day was Marlborough's—a fact recognised by French writers in their account of the battle § The Prince of Waldeck, in his letter to William, said that Marlborough, in spite of his youth, had displayed in this one battle greater military capacity than do most

is estimated at over 2,000, and that of the Allies as only two officers and forty men killed. In the official account published in Paris, $\frac{3}{13}$-$\frac{5}{15}$, 1689, there are given the names of twenty French officers killed and forty wounded.

* *London Gazette*, No. 2,482 of 1689.

† 'Vie du Maréchal duc de Villars, écrite par lui meme.' Published 1785, vol. i., p. 4.

‡ De Feuquière, writing of this action, says he can only repeat 'Que ce combat ne doit jamais etre cité, que pour en défendre l'imitation.'—'Mémoires du Marquis de Feuquière,' p. 311.

§ One French author refers specially to the Life Guards and to two English battalions under the command of 'Lieutenant-General Malbrock.'

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Generals after a long series of wars. William, in a letter to Marlborough, writes: 'I am very happy that my troops behaved so well in the affair of Walcourt. It is to you that this advantage is principally owing. You will please accordingly accept my thanks, and rest assured that your conduct will induce me to confer on you still further marks of my esteem and friendship, on which you may always rely.' In recognition of his services the King made him Colonel of the 'Royal Fusiliers.'* When the campaign closed, the troops went into winter quarters, and Marlborough returned home. William received him not only with honour, but with a cordiality the more marked because of his naturally cold and reserved manners.

$\frac{26}{5}$-$\frac{8}{8}$, 1689.

Meanwhile, there was much disappointment that Schomberg's army had accomplished nothing in Ireland, and the complaints of his mismanagement were loud and outspoken. There was already much jealousy and heartburning in the army because of the favour shown to foreigners by William in his selection of commanders. The contrast between the failure of the Dutchman in Ireland and the brilliant success of the Englishman in Flanders was thus the more marked, caused the victory of Walcourt to be more highly appreciated at home, and tended greatly to increase Marlborough's reputation amongst his countrymen. The battle of Walcourt was the only creditable event in William's campaigns of this year. In the following year, when Marlborough was no longer at the Prince of Waldeck's side, he was hopelessly defeated at Fleurus. But Walcourt

* This regiment was raised 10, 6, 1685, by James II. as a guard for the artillery in the field. It did not carry any pikes, but was entirely armed with a light musket called a fusil. Hence the title 'Fusiliers.' It was directly under the Master-General of the Ordnance. Marlborough fostered the individuality of the artillery as a special corps all through his wars, and strove to have it recognised as an acknowledged arm of the service, and made into a regiment by itself. When Master-General in 1716 he formed the two first companies of R.A. ever raised, and stationed them at Woolwich.

brought William no substantial advantage. There had been a considerable expenditure both of life and money, and the result was, disaster in Ireland and no effective result abroad. This was doubtless owing to the faultiness of William's original plan of campaign, which embraced the cardinal error of engaging with his small army in simultaneous operations at home and abroad.

CHAPTER LVI.

WILLIAM'S AND MARY'S DISLIKE TO MARLBOROUGH.

Contrast between the characters of the King and Queen and of Marlborough and his wife—Mary's civil letters to Sarah before the Revolution—William's treatment of the Marlboroughs was unwise—William hated the meddling of women in affairs of State—Marlborough very free in conversation—William's feelings about his own treachery to James—The relations existing between the sisters, Mary and Anne—The dispute about Anne's annuity—Prince George wishes to serve on board ship—Charge of bribery against Sarah—The Princess settles £1,000 per annum upon Sarah—The affectionate terms upon which Anne and Sarah live.

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THERE is much to find fault with in Marlborough's conduct during the reign of William and Mary, for he not only erred in judgment, but sinned against the common code of public morality. A close study of the Court life of the time makes it clear, however, that most of his faults had their origin in the slights and ungenerous treatment which both he and his wife received at the hands of the King and Queen. This period of his career well deserves a close study, for it embraces all the occurrences connected with what his detractors have stigmatized as 'his second treason.'

The Churchills had played an important part in the proceedings which made the Revolution a success. The husband had managed the army, while the wife had managed the Princess of Denmark, and they had worked so effectually in William's interests that both King and Queen owed them a debt of gratitude deeper than has been generally recognised. But, notwithstanding this fact, they

were never subsequently admitted to terms of close intimacy at Court.

It would be difficult to find two contemporaries of note more dissimilar in appearance, disposition, and character than William and Marlborough. No real cordiality or community of sentiment could well exist between two such men; no bond of union indeed, other than that of self-interest, ever did, as a matter of fact, unite them. Their wives, too, were no less different in their sentiments, tastes, and religious beliefs. An absorbing love for her husband and a deep reverence for God were the Queen's guiding principles of life. Her instinct was to obey, and so strong was her sense of the obedience which she owed her lord and master, that she forgot her duty to her father, for with him her correspondence is marked by an absence of truth and upright dealing. What affinity or community of thought and feeling could there be between such a firm believer in virtue and in the efficacy of prayer, and the brilliant, passionate, self-seeking, and free-thinking Lady Marlborough? All this, however, does not account for the fact that the Marlboroughs, who in the first instance had done much to help William and Mary to the Throne, should almost immediately afterwards be heartily disliked by them. The following letters to Sarah from the Princess Mary in 1688 prove that she and her scheming husband thoroughly understood how necessary the Churchills' co-operation had been to the success of the Revolution conspiracy: 'Loo, September 30.—Dr. Stanley's going to England is too good an opportunity for me to lose of assuring Lady Churchill she cannot give me greater satisfaction than letting me know the firm resolution both Lord Churchill and you have taken, never to be wanting in what you owe your religion. Such a generous resolution I am sure must make you deserve the esteem of all good people, and my sister's in particular. I need say nothing of mine; you have it upon a double account, as my sister's friends, besides what I have said already; and you may be

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assured that I shall always be glad of an occasion to show it both to your Lord and you. I have nothing more to add: for your friendship makes my sister as dear to you as to me, and I am persuaded we shall ever agree in our care for her; as, I believe, she and I should in our kindness for you, were we near enough to renew our acquaintance.—MARIE.'

Another letter of the same period runs thus:

'If it were as easy for me to write to my Lady Churchill as it is hard to find a safe hand, she might justly wonder at my long silence; but I hope she does me more justice than to think it my fault. I have little to say at present. To answer the melancholy reflections in your last is now too late; *but I hope my* sister and you will never part. *I* send *you* here one for her, and have not any time now than only to assure you that I shall never forget the kindness that you showed to her who is so dear to me. That, and all the good I have heard of you, will make me ever your affectionate friend, which I shall be ready to show otherwise than by words whenever I have an opportunity.'

These letters bear out Sarah's assertion that when Mary first reached Whitehall she was all kindness to her. Lady Marlborough insists that had she then been willing to transfer her allegiance from Anne to the Princess Mary, she could have made a great position for herself. Her fidelity to Anne at this time, she says, lost her the Queen's favour, and strengthened the prejudice already conceived against her by both William and Mary.* Even as it was, had she been an ordinarily clever and self-controlled woman, she could easily have become an important person in the new Court; but with her imperious temper and pugnacious disposition she could never have obtained any real influence over Mary, dominated as the Queen was in all things by her masterful husband.

Upon William's accession to the Throne it cannot have escaped his astute mind—first, that it was necessary to

* 'The Conduct.'

have the Princess Anne on his side against her father; and, secondly, that Anne could only be managed, if at all, through the agency of the Churchills. It is passing strange, therefore, that so shrewd a diplomatist should have failed to adopt this course in all negotiations with his sister-in-law. William's manners, it is true, were boorish, but he could be polite and conciliatory when he chose. Why did he not, therefore, treat the Marlboroughs with that ordinary civility which is so cheap and so easy for Princes to display? Why did he not reward this clever and intriguing couple on the same liberal scale as that on which he rewarded his needy and grasping Bentincks, Keppels, and other Dutch favourites who could be of no use to him in the management of English affairs? Had this wise course been adopted, Lord and Lady Marlborough would doubtless have been as loyal to the new King and Queen as were any of their fellow-courtiers upon whom high and lucrative employments were conferred. All the scandals occasioned by Mary's silly quarrels with her sister would have been avoided, and William would have secured the valuable counsels and the faithful services of the ablest man in England.

To accomplish his design upon the Throne of England, William had been glad to avail himself of the Churchills' assistance; but he seems never to have liked Marlborough personally, although he recognised with jealous reluctance his military genius and general ability. Sarah he particularly disliked, because he resented the fact that she had more weight with the Princess of Denmark than either he or his wife. The Churchill influence was always a subject of great bitterness to both William and Mary.

William would not tolerate the meddling of women in public affairs, and did not even allow his wife—although legally his equal—any share in the Government, excepting when he was abroad. The interference of Lady Marlborough in matters which closely affected his interests, such as the dispute respecting Anne's allowance, was to

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him simply unbearable, and he took care that she and her husband should clearly understand this. Little by little there grew up in the minds of the King and Queen an increasing dislike to both the Churchills, which they showed in their manner, whilst no disposition was evinced to make their position at Court more easy or pleasant. The result was that Marlborough soon became dissatisfied with his position, and his wife still more so with hers. Both had expected great rewards for the important assistance they had rendered to William, but nothing whatever had been done for Sarah; and when her husband compared his reward with the honours and emoluments showered so lavishly upon Schomberg, Portland, and the Dutch generals, it is little to be wondered at that he felt himself hardly treated. It was not to the foreigners whom he enriched that William owed his Crown; and yet upon the unportioned Marlborough, without whose help he could not certainly have been King in 1688, he conferred only an empty title. Every new gift or favour bestowed on William's favourites rankled in Sarah's jealous heart, and stirred her to bitter sarcasm. Marlborough, too, allowed himself great freedom of speech upon this point. He never ceased to murmur at the favouritism shown by William to his foreign officers, in order that his complaints should be repeated at Court, for he wished it to be known that he was discontented. Besides, he was by nature given to an open and apparently unrestrained expression of his opinions. A man of inferior ability, apprehensive of committing himself, often takes refuge in reticence, for he knows that silence is commonly regarded as the sign of inward power. Many a dull man has been shrewd enough to conceal his want of wits by an assumed look of wisdom and by a solemn silence broken only by rare monosyllables. 'Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise: and he that shutteth his lips is esteemed a man of understanding.'*

* Proverbs xvii. 28.

The inexperienced are thus often taken in, but the wise know that it is not the quantity, but the quality, of a man's utterances that enables you to gauge his capacity. The man of few words is often the most self-revealing. The greatest of living men, Prince Bismarck, is a free, open talker, whilst some of the feeblest men in public life are markedly reticent, and seem as reluctant to express an opinion as they are to ask for information from those who could impart it. To the wise and able man, like Marlborough, the art of volubility is of priceless value, since it enables him to conceal his real opinions and intentions in a way that no reticence can accomplish. To the skilful talker volubility is golden, while silence is too often the resource of the timid and the stupid. Marlborough was a 'Past-Master' in fluency of speech. He said a great deal, but, except when he wished to be repeated, told nothing; and his countenance never betrayed his thoughts, though at times he could assume a cold and reserved manner.

The question of religion, as it was affected by the Revolution, did not influence Sarah as it did her husband. She regarded the change of sovereigns more from a personal than from a public point of view. She was not therefore likely to undervalue the services which Marlborough and she had rendered to William. She contrasted Mary's cordiality before her accession with her subsequent cold and ungenerous behaviour. Parliament had wished to settle the Crown on Anne should Mary die first, and Sarah remembered that she it was who had induced the Princess to accept the settlement devised by William in his own special interest. Sarah says that she only advised Anne to give way on this point when she found that all further opposition was hopeless. She felt herself and her husband to be in a position of exceptional importance, and she consequently expected great things in the way of distinction and wealth as their reward. She was, however, doomed to disappointment, and, according to her wont, she made no secret

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of her feelings. Her anger soon degenerated into a revengeful spirit, and she accordingly set to work to persuade Anne that she, too, had been neglected and ill-treated. She left no means untried to embitter the already strained relations between the sisters, and to poison Anne's mind against the Queen. In Anne's drawing-room William was habitually denounced by the nicknames of 'the Dutch Monster,' 'Caliban,' etc., all of which was daily reported to him and to Mary.* The Princess Anne was well known to be weak, and easily led, and it was evident to the Court that she was acting under the dictation of Sarah. It was therefore natural enough that the King and Queen should do all they could to rid the palace of one who caused Anne to thwart their wishes in so many ways.

Born to a position in life which gave her none of the power she so ardently craved, Sarah thought to find her opportunity in the influence she had obtained over the pliant Princess of Denmark. Through Anne she accordingly determined to impose her own will and pleasure on others; for she was not one to submit quietly to the neglect with which she and her husband were treated. She brooded over the chances that her husband relinquished when he threw in his lot with the Revolution. She thought of what might have been their wealth and position had he cared less for Protestantism and more for his own interests, and she was furious when she contrasted their possible position under James II. with that which they actually occupied under William III. It was alleged at Court by her numerous enemies that Sarah kept up a close correspondence with her sister, Lady Tyrconnel, whose husband, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, was then in open rebellion against William's authority. This naturally tended to augment the suspicion with

* These expressions were also used at this time in letters between Anne and her favourite, but they were afterwards rubbed out of the letters kept by Sarah, and were omitted from those she published in her 'Conduct.'

which the Queen regarded the Marlboroughs, and made her less generous and lenient in her judgment of their conduct.*

William had little confidence in the loyalty of those who had proved faithless to James, their King *de jure*, for he felt that they might, with still less scruple, turn round upon him who was their King only by Act of Parliament. James had lost his Crown because the army failed him, and William believed that his own safety required that he should have an army upon whose fidelity he could implicitly rely. Hence his anxiety to retain the Dutch guards in England, and his determination to keep the high military commands in the hands of foreigners, who could have no interest in the political aspirations of the English people. Marlborough, already a Lieutenant-General under James, had distinguished himself as a soldier in the field, and his capacity for command had been well tested during Monmouth's rebellion, and again in Flanders at Walcourt. All things considered, it was but natural that he should aspire to the highest military position under William, and should resent the fact of Schomberg and other foreign Generals being preferred before him. Upon first coming to England William had consulted him freely upon military matters. His sound judgment and conspicuous ability could not fail to impress a man of William's business-like habits, and it was not until the King's mind had been deeply prejudiced by Mary against him and Sarah that he began to find himself treated with studied coldness. The Dutchman Bentinck, made Earl of Portland and loaded with English riches—for which he had never done England a day's service—was jealous of Marlborough's military reputation. He knew that as the foremost English soldier, Marlborough was a favourite with the people, who did not then, any more than they do

* 'The Conduct,' p. 16. Sarah states that Lord Tyrconnel had endeavoured to persuade her to induce the Princess Anne to become a Roman Catholic, as his own wife had already done.

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now, like to see foreigners holding high positions in the army or navy. It must be added that Bentinck's dislike was reciprocated with all the bitterness with which a would-be royal favourite usually regards his successful rival. Moreover, the Dutch officers whom William imported considered themselves entitled to all the high military commands, and, regarding Marlborough as a serious rival, detested him accordingly. Without doubt they poisoned William's mind against him as each evening they drank schnapps with their master in the Royal parlour at Kensington. The King's mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, hated Sarah, who had slighted her, and she too stimulated the King's dislike and distrust of the Marlboroughs.*

The Englishmen, Marlborough included, who now surrounded the King had doubtless placed the Crown upon his head; but his thoughts dwelt rather upon their infidelity to James than upon their services to himself. According to his published declaration, he had come to redress grievances and to abolish the abuses for which James was responsible. But we know that his real object was to drive out his father-in-law and to usurp his Throne. In this he succeeded; but he never seems to have had any liking for the measures used to secure him the Crown, nor any affection for those who adopted them. In his natural hatred of their treason he forgot both his own heartless duplicity and also the deception practised by Mary upon her father, for which he was himself wholly responsible. But although he had not hesitated to rob his father-in-law of the Throne, he certainly never regarded himself in the light of an ordinary usurper; he easily convinced himself that the Crown belonged rather to the Stewart family than to any particular member of it. His mother was a Stewart, and so was his wife. We easily persuade ourselves of the justice of a course which suits our tastes or interests, and possibly he may have believed that, because of his Parliamentary title to the throne, he and Queen Mary really

* William created her husband Earl of Orkney.

did govern 'by the grace of God.' He entertained high notions concerning the Royal prerogative, and the right of Kings to the implicit obedience of their subjects. He knew how corrupt were most of those about him, and it is but natural that he should have believed Marlborough to be as open to bribes as Sunderland and others. Marlborough had used his influence with the army to forward William's personal aims at the Revolution, and the King seems always to have dreaded any increase of that influence lest it should some day be directed against himself.

The prejudice entertained by William and Mary against Marlborough drove him into that secret correspondence with James which has deeply stained his reputation. It is, however, worthy of note that William's dislike of Marlborough and his keen desire to have Sarah removed from the Princess Anne's household, not only existed before Marlborough was suspected of corresponding with St. Germains, but actually before he had even begun that correspondence.

Mary was not quite two years older than Anne, and there had always been the greatest intimacy and affection between the sisters prior to the Revolution. Anne had spent some happy months at the Hague for the benefit of her health two years after Mary's marriage. They had much in common, though Mary, who was a great reader and talker, was much superior to Anne in ability. Both had been educated by earnest Protestants, both detested Popery, both had married Dissenters, and in Mary's case the strong will and character of her Calvinist husband had given her mind a decidedly liberal bent on all matters concerning the Church. Anne, who was not influenced in any degree by her dull and heavy Prince, had narrow views upon religious matters. To her the Church was an essential part of the Christian faith, and she had little sympathy with the great body of Nonconformists, whose views were reflected by the Revolution and by the principles which it represented.

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But as soon as Mary became Queen there sprang up between these proud sisters a certain amount of irritation. Mary subordinated her views to what she felt to be her husband's interests, and those interests were opposed to Anne's. Under the conditions upon which William would alone consent to rule England, there could not fail to be some feeling of jealousy on Anne's part. Between two women situated as were Mary and Anne, there was bound to be friction, no matter how close their mutual affection. Little points of etiquette were magnified into serious questions. The elder felt that she was not always treated with the deference due to the Queen, even from a sister; the younger thought that as heir to the Crown she was not shown the consideration she had a right to expect from a loving sister, even though she were Queen; and with these elements of discord at work, it was no difficult matter for a clever and unscrupulous woman like Sarah to bring about an actual rupture.

The first misunderstanding between the sisters arose out of an application made by Anne for some apartments in Whitehall, which she wished to obtain in exchange for the Cockpit, assigned to her by King Charles when she married. The refusal of this request led to an angry altercation and to strained relations; while Anne's pertinacity was put down to Sarah's evil influence. A more serious cause of quarrel was about money, that fruitful source of family discord. Shortly after the Duke of Gloucester's birth it had been proposed in the House of Commons to increase Anne's allowance from the £30,000 settled upon her by her father to £70,000 per annum. This motion was at first discountenanced by those who wished to curry favour with William, as he was known to be strongly opposed to any such arrangement. It was his interest to keep the Princess entirely dependent upon the Crown for an income—a position, however, which Anne would not accept, and in her determination to refuse it she was encouraged by her self-seeking Lady-in-waiting.

$\frac{2}{3}$-$\frac{7}{8}$, 1689.

William was close in money matters, except where his Dutch favourites were concerned. He had not evinced any conciliatory spirit towards Anne, and it was therefore natural that she should press for a Parliamentary settlement. This was an unusual proceeding, as it had hitherto been customary for the King to provide for the members of the Royal Family by such grants from the privy purse as he thought suitable. To ask Parliament, therefore, to fix the amount of her annuity showed that Anne felt little confidence in William's justice, and still less in his liberality. This he naturally resented as an insult, and looked upon Lady Marlborough as the author of it. The question came before the House of Commons in July, when, after a heated debate, the King adjourned Parliament in order to stop further discussion. As far as Parliament was concerned, the matter remained in abeyance until December, when it was again brought before the House of Commons. Many of those who pressed for the increased annuity did so, not so much from affection for Anne, as from a desire to embarrass William and further the Jacobite cause. The King sent mutual friends to the Princess to beg her to desist from further action in the matter, and to rely entirely upon his generosity. Throughout these negotiations Sarah warmly espoused the cause of her mistress, although every endeavour was made by threats and blandishments to induce her to side with the King, and it must be admitted that herein she acted as a true friend to Anne, no matter how objectionable her action may have been to William and Mary.*

As long as Marlborough was at home he was able in some measure to control the fiery temper of his wife; but as soon as he went to Holland, and she was no longer

* Lady Fitzharding, *née* Villiers, was the intermediary employed by William and Mary to try and win over Lady Marlborough. She was one of Sarah's greatest friends, and was remembered in the will which she made in the following year.

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subject to his wise influence, she threw herself heart and soul into her mistress's quarrel with the King. It was in the midst of these disputes that Marlborough returned from his successful campaign under Waldeck. He found the Court divided into two camps, one in favour of the settlement, the other siding with the King against it, and, urged thereto by his wife, he warmly espoused Anne's cause. After lengthened negotiations a compromise was at last arrived at, and the Princess agreed to accept an annuity of £50,000, provided that it was settled upon her by Parliament.

Later on another circumstance contributed to accentuate the angry feeling between the sisters: Prince George, who had accompanied William to Ireland, returned much dissatisfied with the treatment he had received. William had been barely civil to him, and would not allow him to travel in the royal coach—a privilege never before denied to a Prince. Shortly afterwards Prince George, wishing to fight for his adopted country in some capacity, selected that of a volunteer on board ship, an employment more suited to his obesity than active military occupation, which would have necessitated riding. William had gone to Flanders, leaving the Prince under the impression that he had no objection to this arrangement, but he had privately told the Queen that it was not to be permitted. After William's departure Mary sent 'a great Lord' to Lady Churchill, with a request that she would use her influence to prevent the Prince from carrying out his intention, without letting the Princess Anne know that the Queen had expressed any wish in the matter.* Sarah sent a guarded answer, but practically declined to have anything to do with the affair unless she might tell the Princess that it was the Queen's wish that Prince George should not embark. Anne's uncle, Lord Rochester, accounted 'the smoothest man in the Court,' was then sent to Lady Marlborough on a similar mission, put with no better

* 'The Conduct,' pp. 39, 40.

success. In the end Mary had to send the Secretary of State to the Prince himself, with instructions to forbid the project. Both the Prince and Anne felt deeply hurt by this refusal, for, in the confident anticipation that his wish would be acceded to, Prince George had made every preparation for service afloat in the coming summer.

It is to minor causes such as these that we must look for an explanation of the antipathy to the Marlboroughs which was so strongly felt by both William and Mary, but more especially by the latter. This at first led to their neglect, and later on to their ill-treatment, at Court; and it is to that ungenerous and unwise ill-treatment that we must ascribe the line of conduct pursued by Marlborough until the time when he was restored to favour, after Queen Mary's death. Amongst the leading conspirators who had brought about the Revolution the Marlboroughs alone were treated with ingratitude and harshness.

Upon William's first arrival in London he had used the Churchills to persuade Anne to forego her claim to the Throne, should he survive Queen Mary. It has been charged against Lord and Lady Marlborough by more than one enemy that they were bribed by William to extract this consent from the Princess Anne. It is further alleged that they were again bribed to persuade her to accept the annuity of £50,000, and not to press for the larger amount which the Tories, with a view to embarrass William, were anxious to settle upon her. This accusation, based on no evidence whatsoever and repeated parrot-like by successive writers, sounds ridiculous to those who know the inner history of this reign. There can be no doubt that Anne was completely under the influence of Lady Marlborough, and that if she were able to persuade her mistress to accept a settlement of £50,000, she could equally have induced her to accept a much smaller sum. Could William have bribed Sarah to do the one, he would certainly have induced her to do the other, so as still further to reduce Anne's claims upon him. If by properly-administered bribes to Lady Marl-

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borough William and Mary could have managed Anne as they wished, what more could they desire? And why should they have moved heaven and earth to accomplish her removal from Anne's service? It is certain that as long as the Marlboroughs were indispensable to William and Mary they were treated with the utmost consideration, and that the King and Queen only changed their demeanour when they realized that the Marlboroughs were not to be bribed, or to be induced to moderate the earnestness with which they espoused Anne's cause in all her disagreements and quarrels with her sister.

Unfortunately for Marlborough, the condemnation in this year of his brother George, for malpractice at sea, further weighed against him in William's estimation. Complaints had long been made by the principal English merchants of the extortion of naval officers employed on convoy duty. It was alleged that considerable sums of money were exacted from the masters of trading vessels by these officers, who persistently refused to protect them unless paid for their services. The shipowners urged also that when the captain of a man-of-war was unable to extort the amount he demanded, he revenged himself by pressing into the King's service all the best sailors from the ship of the recalcitrant master. During the winter of this year a discussion in the House of Commons upon our foreign trade led to a condemnation of these practices. The London merchants presented a petition to Parliament on the subject, and Captain George Churchill was mentioned amongst those whose conduct was considered the most reprehensible. He was then member for the borough of St. Albans, and had, when captain of the *Pendennis*, commanded a squadron on the Irish coast. In reply to this charge, he said that he had never 'refused to convoy,' and that he only took such men from the merchant-ships as he had extreme necessity for. He was sorry he had 'given offence,' and added: 'I will never do anything to displease this House. Convoy-money has been anciently

practised; I was forced from them by weather, and when I came to the Downs the builders of the ship wondered she could swim.' He confessed, however, that he had 'received 150 guineas as a voluntary gift.' His friend Admiral Russell pleaded for him, and asked the House to award him 'as moderate a punishment as you can.'* Clear evidence was given to prove the case against him, and the House, to mark its displeasure at his conduct, sent him to the Tower, but released him in three days, owing, it was said, to his brother's influence, and to the fact that he was a member of Parliament.†

In the following year the Princess of Denmark settled an annuity of £1,000 upon her dear 'Mrs. Freeman,' to mark her gratitude for the support which the Marlboroughs had given her in the matter of her Parliamentary grant. Sarah tells us that she refused this liberal gift at first, but, remembering how poor she still was, she thought it advisable to consult her life-long friend, Lord Godolphin, and he advised her to accept the offer. The offer was made by the Princess to Sarah in the following letter: 'I have had something to say to you a great while, and I did not know how to go about it. I have designed ever since my revenue was settled to desire you would accept of a thousand pounds a year. I beg you will only look upon it as an earnest of my goodwill, but never mention anything of it to me; for I shall be ashamed to have any notice taken of such a thing from one that deserves more than I shall be ever able to return.'‡ And in a subsequent letter she writes: 'Can you think either of us' (the Prince and Anne) 'so wretched that for the sake of £20,000, and to be from morning to night with flattering knaves and fools, we should forsake those we have such obligations to,

* Debate in the House of Commons. Russell had a fellow-feeling for his friend Captain Churchill, for he made a large fortune eventually by the victualling of his fleet and in other very doubtful ways.

† Historical Tracts, Gower's Collection, x. 355.

‡ 'The Conduct,' pp. 36, 37.

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and that we are so certain we are the occasion of all their misfortunes ?'*

Sarah's influence over Anne was now complete. She commonly addressed her as 'My dear, adored Mrs. Morley,' and Anne, referring to these expressions, writes: 'So very kind that, if it were possible, you are dearer to me than ever you were.' And again, 'I am so entirely yours, that if I might have all the world given me, I could not be happy but in your love.' The letters from the Princess quoted in the 'Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough' are indeed unpleasant reading. They are filled with expressions of devoted affection which, bearing in mind Anne's subsequent hatred of the object she then idolized, fully illustrate the commonplace nature of her character.

* 'The Conduct,' p. 84.

CHAPTER LVII.

WILLIAM GOES TO IRELAND.—MARLBOROUGH A MEMBER OF MARY'S COUNCIL.

The French Fleet superior to that of England, and commands the Channel—Marlborough appointed to command the troops left in England when William went to Ireland—William's unpopularity—A 'Council of Nine' created to help Mary in the Government during her husband's absence—Mary's difficulties—Her love for William.

At this time the affairs of the navy were disgracefully managed, and, owing to the bad quality of the provisions supplied, there was much sickness and mortality in the fleet. Herbert, the naval Commander-in-Chief, recently created Earl of Torrington, was lazy and incompetent, thinking and caring for little beyond his pleasures and his own immediate convenience. The English Fleet had not yet recovered from the hopeless condition into which it had fallen during the reign of Charles II., but that of France, under the fostering care of Colbert, had largely increased in size and still more in efficiency. Throughout the years 1689 and 1690 the French fleet was practically in command of the English Channel, and of the southern and western coasts of Ireland, for the English and Dutch navies combined were inferior to it in strength. The transports upon which the troops in Ireland mainly depended for supplies were consequently at its mercy, and the dread of their being captured had seriously hampered the plans and movements of both William and Schomberg during their campaigns in Ireland. Indeed, had the French fleet been

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properly made use of in the St. George's Channel, it might easily have prevented William's huge flotilla of transports from crossing between the Dee and Belfast Lough.

Schomberg's operations in 1689 had been disastrous, although he lost no battle. But in the spring and early summer of 1690 the large reinforcements which reached Belfast reconstituted the field army for a fresh effort. The time had now come for William himself to take the field and submit to the ordeal of battle the question whether he or his father-in-law should wear the Crown. He was never loath to take a personal part in war, for its very perils and excitements were to him a grim, terrible pleasure, and he delighted in its science, of which he had been a student since his boyhood.*

Before setting out for Ireland, William appointed Marlborough to be Lieutenant-General and Commander of all the Forces remaining in England during his absence, and Lord Torrington to be Admiral of the Fleet protecting the Channel.† Marlborough's appointment at such a critical time to this important post proves that William had then no undue prejudice against him. It also strengthens the presumption that the main obstacle to his serving in Ireland was not any suspicion of his loyalty to the Revolution settlement, but his own natural repugnance to take the field against an army commanded in person by his old master.‡ In a conversation on this subject with Lord Halifax, William said that 'many were dissatisfied with

* The whole military force of Great Britain this year was only about 71,000 men. It was distributed as follows when William started for Ireland; Troops in Ireland, 48,000 men; in England, 12,000; in Scotland, 6,000; in Flanders, 4,500; in West Indies, 1,000; total, 71,500 men. Included in these numbers were the following foreign troops which William had been lent and had taken into pay for service in Ireland: Three regiments of Danish Horse, six battalions of Danish Foot, one battalion of Jutland, one of Flemish, and one of Oldenburg Foot.—Hamilton's 'History of the Grenadier Guards,' vol. i., p. 340.

† Marlborough's commission is dated Kensington Palace, $\frac{3}{13}$ 6, 1690. Rolls Office.

‡ 'Lives of Two Illustrious Generals,' p. 28.

the arrangement,' doubtless meaning his own Dutch officers, who, conceiving that all military commands should be given to them, resented the employment of even one English General.* It was, moreover, necessary that a soldier of experience should be at hand to advise the Queen on military matters during William's absence, and it was of consequence that he should be an Englishman.

We are apt to think that 'red-tape' is an article of strictly modern manufacture; but an examination of the military documents of this period shows that orders on matters of such trifling importance as the march of small detachments from one town to another were signed by Marlborough, and often by other members of the Council as well. At its deliberations, the most insignificant points of military detail were often solemnly discussed.

Left to carry on the Government alone during her husband's absence in Ireland, Mary found her task both difficult and trying. The country was in extreme danger; the outlook was gloomy; except in the Protestant north, all Ireland recognized her father as King, and the signs of the time seemed to forbode disaster. William's unpopularity had increased. His foreign accent was much against him, and his freezing manners had lost him the goodwill of many who eighteen months before had helped to make him King. Some began to wish James back again, and others had already gone the length of opening a correspondence with him in his exile. Shrewsbury, William's valued Secretary of State, who quitted office on the eve of the King's departure for Ireland, was the first to take this step.† Plots were already on foot for the restoration of James, and it was now that the term 'Jacobite' first came into common use. William had been made King by the Whigs, who consequently considered themselves entitled to all the

* Spencer House Papers.

† He had resigned when William withdrew the Abjuration Bill, a proceeding that incensed the Whigs, and tended to throw the King more and more into the arms of the Tories.

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offices of trust in the public service. But he soon began to resent and resist their arrogant pretensions, and when in revenge they opposed his wishes, he retaliated by bringing some of the Tories into his Government. The Whigs were furious, but, as he said, he was forced to employ the Tories if he was to hold the Crown which the Whigs had placed on his head.

To help and advise Mary in her difficult duties, William appointed a Council of nine members, of whom Marlborough—who was still reckoned a Tory—was one, and, to the disgust of the Whigs, five in all of the nine were selected from their opponents' ranks.* 'The Whigs love me best,' William said, 'but the Tories are the best friends to the monarchy.' 'Aye,' replied Sunderland, 'the Tories are better friends to the monarchy than the Whigs, but your Majesty must remember that you are not *their* monarch.'

There was no love lost among these nine Councillors, but eight of them agreed on one point, namely, in a profound distrust of their remaining colleague, Lord Mordaunt, afterwards known as the eccentric Peterborough. They suspected him of corresponding with William's Jacobite enemies, and he in his turn hated them, especially Halifax, whom he suspected of having procured the restoration of two Tories, Nottingham and Godolphin, to royal favour. Mary, who regarded him as a traitor, refers to him in one of her letters as 'mad, and his wife, who is madder, governs him.' But her own disloyalty to her father, forced upon her though it was by William, rendered her sceptical of the loyalty of others, even of those who had made her Queen. Revolution wounds if it does not kill the ennobling sentiment of loyalty to an hereditary King, and party spirit is a poor substitute for it. At this time party feeling was already strong amongst the leading men who surrounded Mary. The jobbing Carmarthen hated his Whig colleagues, and their hatred of him in return was intensified by the

* They were commonly called 'the nine kings.'

jealousy with which they, the authors of the Revolution, saw a Tory placed at the head of affairs.

When for the first time Mary had to take a leading part in public affairs, she found the Treasury empty, and all trade at a standstill. She distrusted her advisers, and, being entirely inexperienced in the business of the State, she felt no confidence in her own powers. Her husband had previously allowed her no voice in the Government, and she had meekly acquiesced in his decision that public business did not lie within a woman's province. She had none of her husband's ambition, and had been quite contented with her life in Holland, where she had 'enjoyed the esteem of the inhabitants, and had led a life both suitable to her humour and, as she thought, not inacceptable to her God.'* It was no wish to be Queen that had brought her to England, but a sense of the obedience she owed her husband. Her mind was torn by conflicting wishes and interests. She felt to the fullest extent the duty she owed to James, both as her father and as lawful King of England, but her study of the Bible made her feel that her husband had a paramount claim to her obedience. She only ceased to deplore her father's misfortunes when she believed that he had countenanced the plot against her husband's life.†

Mary, as already pointed out, disliked the Churchills, but in all military matters she leant upon Marlborough, and his advice seems to have been as uniformly honest and straightforward as it was sound. She frequently mentions him in her letters to William without any apparently strong antipathy, though in one she says, 'I can never either trust or esteem him.'‡ Her heart, however, softened somewhat towards Sarah when Marlborough was starting for Cork, for, in a letter written at that time, she says to her husband: 'As little reason as I have to care for his wife, yet I

* These are her own words. Memoirs of Mary II., by herself, edited by Doebuer.

† See Burnet, Book V., p. 55, for an account of this plot.

‡ Memoirs written by herself, edited by Doebuer.

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must pity her condition, having lain in but eight days; and I have great compassion for wives when their husbands go to fight.'* Marlborough advised Mary to attend the Council often, to prevent, as far as possible, any one clique in it from acquiring a dangerous ascendancy. Her letters to William are most interesting. In one she says she had not even 'time to cry, which would a little ease my heart.' Her courage in all her difficulties was remarkable. When the French fleet was on the coast, she writes: 'I am so little afraid that I begin to fear I have not sense enough to apprehend the danger.' Indeed, her only fears were for his safety.

During William's absence in Ireland, Marlborough corresponded with him frequently. Sometimes he wrote to the King direct, at others he sent him messages in letters addressed to his own friends at army headquarters in the field. 'I pray God send him good success,' 'I hope God will bless his Majesty with a victory,' was the pervading note of all his letters, and without doubt his wishes were sincere.†

It is certain that there was at this time a serious Jacobite conspiracy on foot among the army officers in and near London. Letters were sent to Marlborough by Colonel Tollemache and others from the Low Countries, warning him not to trust those about him.‡ The air was full of disquieting rumours, some true, others false, and the City was thronged with conspirators.

* Dalrymple, Appendix to Book V., p. 128.

† Marlborough to Mr. George Clarke, Secretary for War in Ireland. Clarke MS. Correspondence, Trinity College, Dublin.

‡ F. O. State Papers, Flanders, No. 127, 1689-93.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

William lands in Belfast Lough—Defeats James near Drogheda—The pursuit feeble—James leaves for France—The Irish fight badly, except the Inniskilleners—Prince of Waldeck defeated at Fleurus.

WILLIAM, with a fleet of 280 transports and six ships of war, reached Carrickfergus on June 14, and forthwith began his march southwards to meet James, who was waiting for him at the head of his Irish and French forces. William's men were confident of success, and his heart was in the work before him. He set all ranks a good example by sharing their hardships, and when asked what wine he would have at his table during the approaching operations, his answer was, 'I intend to drink water with my men.' His army was about 36,000 strong, but it was largely composed of recently-raised levies.* During the advance southwards from Belfast, his great fleet of transports, escorted by only a very small fighting squadron, sailed in the same direction, keeping abreast of the army during his march. By this plan he avoided the great difficulty of land transport, for the troops were supplied from the ships. But although William's mind was thus relieved on the subject of supply, the danger to which his transports were exposed troubled him much. The French fleet was then superior to that of England, and might at any moment appear

* Burnet.

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in St. George's Channel, as it should have done, to destroy the transports which were his only means of feeding this army.

He found James covering Dublin in a strong position behind the river Boyne, 'the ould Rubicon of the pale, and frontiere of the corn country.' James's army only numbered about 26,000 men, of which the 20,000 Irish were both badly disciplined and badly equipped. Lauzun, in writing of these Irish soldiers a couple of months after the battle, describes them as the finest men to be seen anywhere.* The backbone of James's army was, however, the French contingent of about 5,000 excellent soldiers, already mentioned as having landed at Cork with James the year before.

Fresh dangers by sea and land seemed to spring up daily around William, and he wisely felt that his best policy was to force James without delay to a pitched battle. A brilliant victory in Ireland might dishearten Lewis, and save England at least temporarily from the projected French invasion. His army was superior to that of his father-in-law in point of numbers, and also in fighting qualities. Schomberg, his most trusted General, looked grave when apprised of William's decision. He dwelt upon the strength of the enemy's position, reminded his master that a battle lost on the Boyne meant destruction to his cause in Ireland, and would probably be followed by a Jacobite rising in England under French auspices. But William's mind was made up, and nothing could move him from his determination. Habitually cautious, he paid no heed upon this occasion to the warning of his most trusted military adviser, believing that God would fight for his cause that day.

The memorable, and historically most important battle of the Boyne was the last occasion upon which two competitors for the Crown commanded in person. It was
$\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$, 1690. fought on Tuesday, July 1, in a lovely, smiling valley, the picturesque scenery of which adds greatly to the romantic

* Lauzun's letter of 3, 9, 1690, to Louvois; Ranke, vol. vi., p. 143.

interest of the spot. The day was hot and clear; the serious fighting began at 10.45 a.m., and lasted only for about an hour and a half, though the battle dragged on for some hours longer. The Irish, outnumbered, fought badly, and, failing to profit by their strong position, soon broke, turned, and fled. The English pursuit stopped at nightfall near the defile of Naul, some ten miles from Oldbridge. Its slowness and want of vigour can only be accounted for by William's state of physical exhaustion, the result not only of his wound upon the previous day, but of his great exertions throughout every phase of the battle, which had told severely upon his usual activity. Had Schomberg not been killed, the pursuit would no doubt have been as keen as the battle had been vigorous and daring.* Seeing his Irish troops break and fly, James followed their example, and, escorted by some 200 disorderly Horse, made at full speed for Dublin, which he reached between nine and ten p.m., and passed the night in the Castle. Next morning he started again with a dozen companions for Kinsale, and there took ship for France.

In that country he spent the remainder of his ignoble life, despised by those who sheltered him, and execrated by the great bulk of the English people, whose liberties he had striven to crush, and whose religion he had sought to destroy.†

The battle of the Boyne is well known to Irishmen by the old song which contains these lines:

> 'From all who dare to tyrannize,
> May heaven still defend us;
> And should another James arise,
> Another William send us!'

Voltaire remarks that, notwithstanding the valour displayed by the native Irish soldier in every age and in every

* Those immediately about William urged him to pursue vigorously; Story, p. 86, and 'History of the Blues,' p. 57.

† See the correspondence of the Duchess of Orleans, and also of Mme. de Sévigné for a French view of his conduct and character.

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quarter of Europe, he has never fought well at home. The events of 1689 and 1690 tend to corroborate that statement, but they do not justify the ungenerous words in which King James throws all the blame of his defeat upon the want of courage shown by his Irish troops.

In that very battle, and throughout all the actions and skirmishes of the Jacobite wars in Ireland, no troops fought more bravely or with better success for King William than did the uncouth, ill-clad 'Inniskilleners,' under their able English leader Colonel Wolseley. His roving, reckless, pillaging horsemen were everywhere, and the complete victory won by his Inniskillen troops the previous year at Newtown-Butler was the brilliant prelude to William's reconquest of Ireland.* But these descendants of British settlers were well officered and led by gentlemen, whilst the poor impulsive Celtic peasants who — as foot-soldiers—fought for James, though fully as brave, were badly disciplined and lacked efficient officers. The Irish Cavalry was officered by gentlemen and consequently fought much better than the Foot. The captains of the Irish Foot were but the butchers, tailors, and 'corner-boys' of their own towns and villages, who, ignorant of arms, neglected the welfare of their men, and sought only to make money out of them. Subsequently these very foot-soldiers, when led by Irish gentlemen in the French army, made their enemies—including the English—dread their fierce onslaught, and their reckless daring made the Irish Brigade famous throughout Europe.

It may be said that the battle of the Boyne, in firmly placing the Crown on William's head, decided the great question of the day, namely, whether Protestant democracy or Roman Catholic despotism was to dominate England, and through her the rest of Europe. James's life since the Restoration had been one long-continued effort to put the

* 'The Actions of the Inniskillen Men,' Story's 'Wars in Ireland,' Harris's 'Life of William III.,' Macaulay's 'History,' vol. iii., Address of the Inniskillen people to William and Mary.

world's clock back, but he might as well have striven to stop the rising tide on the seashore as to arrest the spread of liberal opinions. William fought in the cause of progress, not because he greatly cared for it, but because the advancement of all that he did care for was involved in the success of Protestantism and of liberty.

The news of the naval defeat at Beachy Head and of Waldeck's overthrow at Fleurus reached Queen Mary at the time when she knew her husband was about to give battle to her father in Ireland. 'My heart is ready to burst. I can say nothing, but pray to God for you,' she wrote to William in her grief and anxiety. He had gone to Ireland against the advice of his Ministers. They dreaded his absence at a time when both England and Scotland urgently required the strong hand of a skilled and determined ruler. They implored him to return, for they distrusted one another and lived in continual fear of a French invasion.

During this time Caermarthen, Nottingham, and Marlborough worked together, forming a sort of inner council within the 'nine' appointed to advise the Queen. She consulted them more than she did the others, and told them what the King wrote to her on public affairs. Marlborough thought the army in England was much too weak at this crisis, and, in an interview with Mary, proposed that Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and some others might each be allowed to raise 1,200 men at their own charge, on the understanding that they were eventually to be repaid the money they expended. This offer, however, was not accepted.

In all that he did, Marlborough was warmly seconded by his stanch friend Admiral E. Russell, who, when a difference of opinion arose in council as to what captains should be promoted to flag rank, urged that George Churchill should be one of those selected. Marlborough pressed his brother's claims on Mary, whilst Caermarthen told her that, if she consented, the new Admiral would be called 'the flag by favour, as his brother is called the

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General of favour.' Other captains were recommended on the ground of seniority, and considering that only the year before George Churchill had been imprisoned by the House of Commons for malpractices with regard to convoy-money, it is not surprising that Mary postponed the selection until William's return.

In Flanders the Prince of Waldeck's antagonist was no longer the incompetent D'Humières, but the able Duke of Luxembourg. As usual, the French were first in the field, and outnumbered the Allied army. All the stores and money available in London had been applied to the use of the army in Ireland, where William was to command in person. The result was, that the English troops were late in joining Waldeck, owing to want of transport. Money, which was scarce in England, could only be had at a high rate of interest, and with Scotland in rebellion, Ireland in possession of James, an invasion of England threatened from the coast of Normandy, and the Jacobites almost defiant in their demeanour, William's government experienced great difficulty in obtaining the funds required for the war. Ten days previous to the victory at the Boyne, Waldeck was signally defeated at Fleurus before the English contingent had joined him. Waldeck had few of the qualities of a General. He ignorant even of the strength of the army opposed to him. Had William not been so imbued with the idea that Princes alone should direct armies, he might have sent Marlborough to command in Flanders, instead of leaving him idle in London.

$\frac{1}{7}\frac{6}{7}$, 1690.

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OUR NAVAL DEFEAT AT BEACHY HEAD.

England drained of troops for the Army in Ireland and for the contingent under Waldeck — Panic about invasion — Torrington ordered to fight, does so, and is beaten — James begs Lewis for troops to land in England with — Precautions taken against the threatened invasion—The French land and destroy Teignmouth.

In order to furnish the stipulated contingent for the Allied army under the Prince of Waldeck, and to find the army required for service against James in Ireland, William had drained England of all his best troops, so that not more than about 7,000 indifferent soldiers remained at home to meet a possible French invasion.* The French navy was now so strong that even the combined fleets of England and Holland hesitated to engage in offensive operations. Invasion was in everybody's mouth, and the result was complete stagnation of business in London, where all but the Jacobites went nightly to bed in dread of finding French soldiers at their doors on the following morning. The nation's only hope was Torrington's Channel fleet, and it was not prepared for action. It alone, they thought, stood between them and invasion. The story of these events deserves to be well considered, since it is a common article of belief, and one that is held by some able men, that England can have nothing to dread so long as she has a strong fleet between her and France.†

* Dalrymple, Book V., 1690, p. 7 of Part II.

† See previous remarks upon this subject, vol. i., p. 273 and ii., p. 22.

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Some even go so far as to denounce all expenditure upon a home army as a wicked waste of public money. It is well to remind such that sea, wind, and weather are uncertain elements, upon which wise men may well hesitate to base calculations involving the safety of an empire. The accidents to which in the nature of things a fleet must always be exposed are so many and so appalling, and they are now greater than ever, that no master of the great theory of war—which is common to all fighting combinations, whether by sea or by land—would dream of committing the safety of a great European State solely to its navy. This is more than ever the case now that war-ships have grown to such immense proportions, have become so enormously costly, and require such a long time to build. Naval supremacy is undoubtedly now far more than ever the most precarious form of national strength.

Lord Torrington's fleet proved a broken reed. He was a strong Whig, but was extremely discontented because Russell had been preferred as the naval member of Mary's Council, and was disposed to object to all orders received from it. The French fleet, greatly superior in numbers to the combined fleets of England and Holland, appeared upon the English coast on June 20, before Torrington was ready for battle. He retired to Portsmouth for reinforcements, and by so doing redoubled the popular alarm, and raised the spirits of the Jacobites. Torrington did not want to risk his reputation by the ordeal of battle, and adduced numerous reasons why he should not fight. The Council met, and recognised the imminence of the national danger, both from within and from without. Believing in the traditional superiority of English ships and English sailors over those of France, no matter what might be the disparity in number of men and ships, the Council decided that Torrington must fight at all hazards, and positive orders to that effect were accordingly sent to him. Marlborough, in a letter of June 28, writes: 'Noe nuse of the fleets being yett ingaiged;' but two days later they met off

June 6, 1690.

Beachy Head, and the battle ended in a French victory, 'the most conspicuous single success the French have ever gained at sea over the English.'* The Dutch Admiral behaved with a courage which put the English commander to shame. He engaged the enemy's ships at close quarters, whilst Torrington rendered him no help, alleging that the wind prevented him from doing so.† Two English and three Dutch ships of the line were sunk, and three —the French assert eleven—others, Dutch and English, had to be set on fire to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Mary wrote as follows to William about this defeat: 'I am more concerned for the honour of the nation than anything else; but I think it has pleased God to punish them justly, for they really talkt as if it were impossible they should be beaten, which looks too much like trusting in the arm of flesh. I pray God we may no more deserve the punishment.' Then, as now, the English trusted almost entirely to their first line, the fleet, for protection from invasion, and this defeat placed England, as any naval disaster in the Channel always will place her, at the mercy of the invader when she has no army capable of defending her shores.

$\frac{20}{10}\cdot\frac{6}{7}$, 1690.

It was well said of this battle in the news-letter of the day that 'The Dutch gott the honour, the French the advantage and the English the shame.' It destroyed for the time being our reputation as a great naval Power, and no man, it would seem, was ever sent to the Tower more deservedly than the vain, indolent and scheming Torrington. The French fleet rode triumphant in the Channel, but made nothing of a victory which seems to have taken Lewis XIV. and his Ministers so much by surprise that they

* 'The influence of sea-power upon history,' Captain Mahan, p. 187.

† Torrington was tried by court-martial on board the *Kent*, at Sheerness, $\frac{1}{20}$ 12, 1690. He was 'honourably acquitted,' but William thought his case so bad that he dismissed him from the navy and from all his public employments. He had been created Earl of Torrington for his services to William at the Revolution, and died an old man, $\frac{13}{23}$ 4, 1716.

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were unprepared for the next natural move in the game—the invasion of England.

In a letter to the Secretary at War in Ireland, Marlborough thus describes the position of affairs upon receipt of

$\frac{16}{26}$ 7, 1690.

the news of this defeat: July 6, 1690.—'I thank you for yours of 28th of y^e^ last month with the order of Battails. Our unfortunate fleet is, we think, this night at the Gunfleet, and to-moroe, we believe, they will be att the buoy of the North, where Caer is taking for the fitting them out again. You will easily believe that we have a great number of pepell here that are very much alarmed, the French being now absolutely masters of the cost. We are afraid that they will attempt the burning of Deal and Dover, soe that the councell has ordered Barkley's Dragoons to march thether and with the Militia of that Countie to opoze any attempt. I hope the King is well again of his wound, for we must have no ill nuse from Ireland. Pray remember me to the Duke of Ormond and Kerke, and let them know that when I can send them good nuse they shall hear from me.'*

$\frac{15}{25}$ 7, 1690.

Writing again on July 15, Marlborough refers to a letter received by Lord Nottingham from Colonel Tollemache reporting that Marshal d'Humières was collecting a large force, nominally with the intention of reinforcing the Duke of Luxembourg, but really destined for the invasion of England. Marlborough adds that a landing upon the south coast by D'Humières at the head of 18,000 Foot and 2,000 Horse was then a common topic of conversation amongst the disaffected party in London.

James, on his return to the French Court after his defeat at the Boyne, urged Lewis XIV. to avail himself of the advantages afforded by this French naval victory at Beachy Head. He pointed out that a French fleet in St. George's Channel might prevent the return to England of William and his army, whilst another in the English

* Clarke MSS., Correspondence, T. C. D. This letter is endorsed as received July 12.

Channel would similarly prevent the return home of the British contingent from Flanders. This would, James said, greatly facilitate the long-projected French invasion of these shores. The small army, under Marshal d'Humières, already referred to as being encamped near St. Omer, might now, he argued, be easily landed on the southern coast of England without fear of naval interruption, and with a certainty of easy work after landing, since the bulk of the British army was absent in Ireland, Scotland and Flanders. The invasion would, he said, be an easy operation, for no English ships dare show themselves in the Channel, and there were not more than about 10,000 soldiers available for the defence of London;* indeed, such a combination of chances in his favour might never occur again. So argued the poor exile in his interviews with the French King, and being an experienced Admiral, he thoroughly understood the naval position at the moment. There was without doubt at this time a large and influential party in England who longed to have their old King back again, and if 20,000 French troops under an able General had landed in either Kent or Sussex, as James recommended, they could certainly have marched to London and occupied it without serious opposition. He clearly saw that if De Tourville's victorious fleet with an invading army would but anchor off Newhaven or Pevensey, London might in a week be in possession of the French, and he might be on the Throne again; and knowing the state of English public opinion, he felt that once again established at Whitehall he would be able to hold his own and drive out William. James begged the French King to lend him 10,000 troops, for if this chance were allowed to pass, the future, he said, held out no hope for him.†

* As a matter of fact there were not more than about 7,000 soldiers available.

† Letter from James of $\frac{10}{20}$ 8, 1690, in Mr. A. Morrison's collection of autographs.

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London, with its throbbing life, was in abject terror. The dread of invasion—almost the worst calamity next to invasion itself—became general. Panic filled the land, the inhabitants of every hamlet between London and the coast of Sussex trembled as if the French horsemen were already at their doors, and even rival politicians became silent in the face of the appalling danger.

$\frac{19}{29}$ 7, 1690.

The Queen in Council sent orders to the Lieutenants of Counties bordering on the east and south coast to make every preparation. They were directed to call out the Militia Horse for one month, and to take care that they were duly paid. A small body of French troops landed on the south-western coast and burned Teignmouth with the ships anchored there. The alarm became general, abject despair and confusion reigned supreme in the capital, business came to a standstill, and the stocks fell. A camp for the Militia was formed at Torbay. All suspected persons in London were at once imprisoned, Lord Clarendon, the Queen's uncle, being amongst the number. In all quarters the warlike spirit of the English people showed itself, indeed, as grandly as it had ever done at any previous period of our history. But the educated gentry, who knew from personal experience or from books what war really was, had little hope that the ill-trained Militia and hastily enrolled yeomen could successfully contend with the regular troops of France. In times of peace the British citizen is apt to rail at the regular army, to draw invidious comparisons between its cost and the cost of the Militia and Volunteer forces, to extol the military excellence and value of the citizen soldiers, and to maintain that in them we possess an army sufficient in every respect for defensive purposes. But when war is at our doors, as it was after the battle of Beachy Head, those who are loudest in denouncing an expensive standing army are often the first to clamour for the regular troops whose maintenance they oppose in time of peace. As the great barrack-room ballad-maker has sung:

'For it's Tommy this an' Tommy that, an'
" Chuck him out, the brute !"
But it's " saviour of his country " when the
Guns begin to shoot.'*

At this juncture the danger was felt to be so imminent that, much as William required every soldier in Ireland, he deemed it necessary to send back three regiments of Horse and Dragoons and two of Foot.† The French fleet, however, displayed such lamentable want of enterprise that, having destroyed Teignmouth and ridden as triumphant masters of the Channel for some six weeks, it returned to Brest about the middle of August, to the intense relief of the nation, and especially of commercial London. July 8, 1690.

Most fortunately for England, no sufficiently large French army was at the moment available for the purpose of invasion, for the troops that had been collected near St. Omer under the ill-starred D'Humières were required to reinforce the army in Flanders. England was saved by the mistaken war policy of Lewis XIV. Instead of keeping an army of some twenty or thirty thousand men in readiness for the invasion of England in the event of a naval victory, he had allotted all his available troops to the Low Countries, where for the time being the operations were, and could only be, of secondary importance. Thus England, which for the time was the key to the general military position in Europe, could not be made to feel the full results of her defeat at sea. Lewis is not the only ruler or commander who has failed to accomplish the great aim of a war, through a mistaken estimate of the relative value of objects within his grasp. How often do we find that point neglected, the possession of which would secure all the rest, whilst others of secondary importance are attacked in due form, their capture leading to nothing decisive, even though the victory

* R. Kipling.

† These regiments were: First troop of Life Guards, Schomberg's Horse (now 7th Dragoon Guards), the Royal Dragoons, Trelawney's regiment of Foot (now the King's Own Lancaster), and Hastings' regiment (now the Somerset Light Infantry).

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may have been as complete as that gained by the French at Fleurus!

To James's intense mortification and sorrow, Lewis would not listen to his arguments in favour of an immediate descent upon the coast of England. James was right, Lewis was wrong. France has never since had such a favourable opportunity for the invasion of England, and may Heaven never grant her such another!

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MARLBOROUGH PROPOSES TO TAKE CORK AND KINSALE.

News of the Battle of the Boyne a great relief to all England—William besieges Limerick—Marlborough collects information about the Defences of Cork and Kinsale — Mary's Council reject his proposals, but Mary refers them to William, who approves of them.

THE Constitution under which we now live—the political outcome of the Revolution—was sealed by the victory of the Boyne. The news of the battle brought joy and comfort to the afflicted Queen Mary, and was hailed with transports of delight by all lovers of freedom. It was a real relief to the great mass of waverers and trimmers who, if James had won, would doubtless have sought to gain his favour by denouncing William's usurpation. It removed a load of care from Marlborough's mind, racked as it was daily with conflicting rumours from the seat of war. Compelled by his scruples to lead a tedious and inactive life in London, he knew that on the result of the coming battle depended his whole career, the safety of his property, and the future of his children.

William's original base of operations in Ireland had been Belfast Lough, for when he landed there, the only fortified places which he possessed in Ireland were Londonderry, Enniskillen and Carrickfergus. But one of the first consequences of the battle of the Boyne was to give him possession of Dublin, and a few days afterwards of Waterford also. To capture the ports of Cork, Kinsale, Limerick

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and Galway then became a matter of the first necessity. As long as they remained in Jacobite hands, they secured to Lewis XIV. a foothold in Ireland, and provided him with good harbours for his fleet, and a base from which his troops might operate in conjunction with Tyrconnel's army; whereas, if they fell into English hands, the French fleet would be practically cut off from all communication with the French and Irish forces in Munster and Connaught. Besides, as regarded the two last-named cities, they contained the remnant of that little French army which, having escaped from the Boyne, was still the core of James's military strength in Ireland.

William's army now advanced against Limerick, a city strong by its position, well fortified, and furnished with a large garrison. Marlborough took no direct part in the siege; I shall not, therefore, describe its stirring events.

Next in importance to Limerick were Cork and Kinsale, because their admirable harbours—easy of access—were at this time virtually French ports.

Marlborough, with his quick soldier's insight, at once perceived their military value, and proposed to attack them, for as James had left the kingdom, he no longer scrupled to take the field in William's cause. He had from the first attached special value to Cork, because of its splendid and capacious harbour, and had consequently taken every pains to inform himself of its natural position, the state of its defences, its garrison, military stores, provisions, etc. He had satisfied himself that in none of these respects was it in a condition to offer effectual resistance to a strong and resolute attack. He had ascertained that although the works lately erected under French direction had added much to the strength of the place, there were neighbouring positions from which all the works could be seen into. He knew that the garrison consisted of 5,000 troops, exclusively Irish, and that whilst amply supplied with food, the store of powder was quite inadequate for a prolonged defence. The French fleet

was already being dismantled preparatory to lying-up for the winter, and as England had consequently nothing to dread from invasion for the remainder of the year, the troops which, during the summer, had been kept in readiness for that contingency were now available for service in Ireland. The English fleet was being rapidly refitted after its defeat at Beachy Head, and would soon be able to show itself once more in the Channel. Enough ships of war were already at sea to convoy a fleet of transports to Cork, and there would be no difficulty in hiring a sufficient number of merchantmen to carry some five or six thousand troops. A strong squadron was also ready to cruise on the Irish coast, and prevent the landing of reinforcements or supplies from France.

The quick perception of every opportunity afforded by an enemy was an instinct with Marlborough, and his study of the general position convinced him that Cork offered a golden opportunity for a telling blow upon the allied French and Irish cause in Ireland. To assert, as some of Marlborough's enemies have done, that he planned the whole scheme of operations solely with a view to his own advantage, is the wildest of absurd libels. With as much accuracy might the same be said of Wellington's campaign of 1815, and, indeed, of every military operation carried out by the man who planned it.* With all public men, the Minister as well as the Commander, few can or ever try, in their scheme or plan for any undertaking, to distinguish between the benefits its successful issue will confer upon the State, and the advantage or renown it will secure to them personally.

Early in August he laid his scheme before the Council of Nine, pointing out how necessary it was to obtain possession of Cork and Kinsale harbours. Lewis, he urged, if Aug. 8. 1690.

* Ralph makes this ridiculous assertion. He says that Marlborough saw in this campaign a chance of acting on his own judgment without having over him any of those Dutch Generals to whom William usually gave every independent command.

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left in undisturbed possession of those places for the winter, would make them strong and difficult to retake. He pressed the fact upon his colleagues, that the French King was making great preparations to open the next campaign in Ireland with unusual force. The proposal was discussed by the Council, but with the exceptions of Lord Nottingham and Marlborough's close friend, Admiral Russell, all were opposed to it. Upon subjects of this nature the Council was usually divided into two opposing factions, one led by Caermarthen, the Tory Lord President, the other by Marlborough and Russell. Though the majority had no great liking for Marlborough, they hated William's Dutch officers, and were not, therefore, indisposed to raise up a military rival to these foreigners; but William had desired his wife to rely for advice chiefly upon Caermarthen, who detested Marlborough. The plan was explained to the Queen by Nottingham and Marlborough, and the latter dwelt upon the fact that it would only require 5,000 Foot from England, who could now be safely spared. The five battalions brought back from Holland, and the two that had come from Ireland when invasion seemed imminent, together with a battalion of Marines, would, he said, furnish the numbers required. Marlborough told the Queen that, as the fleet was about to reappear in the Channel, he would stake his reputation as a soldier upon the success of the undertaking. But all that he could say was to little purpose. Upon great military and naval questions, councils composed wholly or mainly of civilians, are generally either rash or over-cautious. It is their habit to be especially prejudiced against an enterprise advocated by the man whose duty it will be to carry it out. They are apt to suspect him of personal aims, and of being more influenced by the desire for opportunities of distinction, than by purely public-spirited and patriotic motives. It is only when a master spirit like that of Pitt rules the Cabinet, that great naval and military success may be expected; for in the absence of the con-

trolling hand to direct the policy and to counteract the inherent weakness and indecision of a council, its naval and military projects too often end in failure. In this instance, notwithstanding Marlborough's great persuasive powers, the Council could not be brought to recognize the soundness of his views, and much less to acquiesce in his proposals. Caermarthen strove to frighten the Queen by appealing to her dread of a French invasion, and by dwelling upon the dangers of withdrawing troops at such a moment from England. Mary, though she had no great regard for Marlborough, felt that upon such a point the advice of the foremost soldier in England, backed up as he was by her most distinguished Admiral, should at least be referred to the King.* An express was accordingly sent to William, and the messenger also carried a letter from Marlborough in which he gave full details of his plans.

The King's Dutch officers, ever anxious to foster the prejudice he had already conceived against the employment of English Generals in independent commands, urged him to withhold his consent, and assured him that the reduction of Cork alone would entail a siege of at least six weeks' duration. He knew himself, they said, how English soldiers suffered from the wet and cold of Irish weather, and that such a siege must extend into the inclement season, which had already told severely upon them in the trenches before Limerick. But William, being a soldier, was thoroughly able to comprehend the advantages which the proposed scheme promised. Situated as he then was, he knew that the possession of Cork and Kinsale would be an inestimable advantage to him both morally and materially; in fact, he fully approved of the undertaking, and thereupon all further opposition to it ended. But the feeling in Mary's Council against the project was

* 'As I had finished this, Lord Nott. and Lord Marl. comes to tell me of a project they have which I think Lord Marl. is to write to you, for which reason an express is sent.'—Queen Mary to William, the $\frac{7}{17}$ 8, 1690. See Dalrymple, Appendix to Book V.

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still strong, and bad indeed would it have been for its advocates had any untoward accident made it a failure.*

William in his heart might have wished to give the command to one of his own countrymen, but he was already aware that his partiality for foreign officers had much increased his unpopularity. He thought it best, therefore, to entrust it to the English General who had not only planned and proposed the enterprise, but had guaranteed its success.†

* Mary writes to William, $\frac{2}{5}\frac{6}{0}$-$\frac{5}{0}$, 1690: 'If the wind continues fair, I hope this business will succeed; though I find, if it do not, those who have advised it will have an ill time, all except Lord Nott. being very much against it, Lord President only complying because it is your order, but not liking it, and wondering England should be so exposed, thinking it too great a hazard.'—Dalrymple, Appendix to Book V.

† Ralph, vol. ii., p. 242.

CHAPTER LXI.

MARLBOROUGH'S EXPEDITIONARY FORCE EMBARKS AT PORTSMOUTH.

Preparations for the siege of Cork and Kinsale — Great secrecy maintained as to the destination of the Fleet and transports — Lady Marlborough delivered of her last child — Marlborough embarks at Portsmouth.

THE news that William had selected Marlborough for an independent command gave general satisfaction in England. Under his direction preparations for the equipment and victualling of the expeditionary force were now pushed on apace. The Tower and the ordnance stores at Portsmouth and Plymouth were ransacked for guns, ammunition, tents, and military material of all sorts. The five battalions from Holland, still encamped on Blackheath, were ordered to Portsmouth for embarkation.* Ireland was at that time looked upon as a foreign country, with a climate that was believed to be trying and injurious to the health of English soldiers. The utmost precautions were taken to keep the destination of the troops a profound secret; for, as Caermarthen justly said, Marlborough's best chance lay in secrecy. False information as to the destination of the intended expedition was designedly spread abroad. In a letter from Mr. Blaithwayt, the Secretary for War, to Sir George Clarke, the Secretary at War for Ireland, he says: $\frac{8}{18}$ 8, 1690. 'I have nothing to entertain you with except the two

* Ralph, vol. ii., p. 242.

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enclosed papers. The one shows you the movement of eight regiments of Foot, which are designed to be embarked on the fleet at Portsmouth for some revenge upon the French for our late disgrace.'* Two days later he writes
$\frac{23}{2}$-$\frac{8}{9}$, 1690. that Marlborough is to command these troops, to which 'ye two marine regiments' have been added, but still does not tell the Irish Secretary their real destination, possibly not having been yet admitted into the secret himself. Two days later Marlborough writes from London to 'Mr.
$\frac{25}{4}$-$\frac{8}{9}$, 1690. Cleark, Secritarie att Warre,' saying: 'I goe to-moroe for Portchmouth to Embarque my selfe on board the Ffleet, soe that you need not writt to me till the end of the next month. Pray give the enclosed to Mr. Connisby.'† By that date the secret had evidently been communicated to Clarke, then with Ginkel's headquarters in Tipperary, where he
$\frac{29}{8}$-$\frac{8}{9}$, 1690. received a list of the stores despatched with the big mortars sent from Plymouth to Waterford. It is interesting to note, as giving an idea of the extent to which 'hand granados' were then used, that 12,931 were amongst the stores sent upon that occasion. A few sets of back and breast pieces, with pot helmets, were also sent for 'harquebussers,' some being certified as 'musket' and others as 'carbin proof.'‡

Even the Under Secretaries in the Government were not told the real destination of the expedition. As late as August 26 it was debated in Council whether the Lords
$\frac{26}{6}$-$\frac{8}{9}$, 1690. Commissioners of the Admiralty should be admitted into the secret, and it was then decided that they should not. In a letter of the same date the Paymaster-General tells Sir G. Clarke that the destination of the expedition is unknown, 'but we all hope we will sufficiently revenge the burning of Tigmouth' (*sic*). All that was known was, that

* Clarke Correspondence, Trin. Coll., Dublin.

† *Ibid.* The letter is endorsed 'Rect. at Tipperary, Sept. 7.' The seal is still on this letter unbroken. It is the Churchill arms, unquartered, but surmounted by an earl's coronet.

‡ Clarke Correspondence, Trin. Coll., Dublin.

orders had been sent to victual the fleet for forty days, and that the Queen had received a letter from the King ordering the embarkation of eight battalions of Foot and two of Marines, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough.*

Luttrell says: 'No one knows the design; neither Admiral nor General are to open their orders till they are several leagues at sea. They are paid off their arrears till end of September.' The public had not yet been let into the secret, for on September 4, Clarke is told by an intimate friend as a piece of news: 'I doubt not but you have been told of Lord Marlborough's being shifted with several regiments upon some extraordinary enterprise; but what it is we are all left to guess, for nobody does pretend to know. Those who fancy themselves wisest believe it is to expedite your work in Ireland.'† Although the secret was kept in England, it was known in Ireland early in September. On

$\frac{17}{27}$ 8, 1690.

$\frac{4}{14}$ 9, 1690.

$\frac{5}{15}$ 9, 1690.

* These regiments were: Churchill's, now the Buffs; Trelawney's, now the King's Own Lancaster Regiment; the Earl of Marlborough's, now the Royal Fusiliers; the Princess Anne's, or Beaumont's, now the Liverpool Regiment; Colonel Hastings', now the Somerset Light Infantry; Colonel Hales', converted into Marines in 169$\frac{7}{8}$, and afterwards disbanded; Sir David Collier's, placed on Scotch establishment 11, 3, 169$\frac{7}{8}$, and afterwards disbanded; Colonel Fitzpatrick's, afterwards disbanded in the West Indies about 1700; Earl of Torrington's Marines, and six companies of Earl of Pembroke's Marines, both afterwards disbanded in August, 1698. There were also, under the command of Major Johnston, 100 men of the Marquis of Winchester's regiment, and 200 of the Earl of Monmouth's regiment. Both of these regiments were disbanded in 1698. The whole force embarked made up a total of between 5,000 and 6,000 men. In our days of monster guns it is curious to note the small size of the following pieces which constituted the siege train sent from the Tower: Ten demiculverins, twelve drakes, two three-pounders, and some mortars. Marlborough, however, depended upon having the use of some of the big guns on board the fleet which convoyed him to Cork. A large quantity of siege materials was also ordered. Captain Brown as engineer, Captain English as firemaster, and Captain Martyr as master gunner, together with several bombardiers and other gunners, were embarked with the siege train.

† This letter from Sir Walter Clarges, Bart., was received at Cashel September $\frac{16}{26}$.

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the 9th of that month orders were sent from Dublin to the ports between it and Youghal desiring their Governours to give General Ginkel the earliest possible news of the fleet's arrival on the coast.* They were also to let Marlborough know what plans had been arranged for the despatch of troops to help him in his difficult enterprise, 'which certainly would be the luckiest thing in the world could it be accomplished.'†

The following secret orders were sent to Marlborough: 'MARIE R.—We do hereby require you to repair on board of our fleete and to endeavour w^th^ the forces under your command to reduce the townes of Corke and Kinsale in Our Kingdom of Ireland to Our obediance by attacking those places in such manner as you think fitt or by granting such termes and conditions to them as you shall judge proper and expedient for our Service in case of their Surrender. And you are to leave such Garrisons in those Places respectively as shall be requisite and to returne w^th^ the rest of Our Forces into England; giving Us an account from time to time of Your Proceedings.—Given at Our Court at Whitehall this 25th of August, in the second year of our Reign 1690.—By her Ma^ties^ command, NOTTINGHAM.'

Whilst in the midst of his preparation for this expedition, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{7}$ 8, 1690. his wife was safely delivered of her last child—a son—who lived only two years. Her great friend, Lady Fitzharding, together with Lord Dorset and Admiral Russell, were the child's godparents, but the christening did not take place till nearly a year later, when the Queen gave a present of a silver-gilt salver, cup, and cover.‡ In Sarah's will, made the day before this son Charles was born, she refers to him as 'the child I now goe with.'

$\frac{2}{5}\frac{6}{6}$-$\frac{3}{6}$, 1690. Marlborough set out for Portsmouth a week after his

* Harris's 'Life of William III.,' p. 291.

† Clarke Correspondence, letter from Sir Thomas, afterwards Earl Coningsby, who was Paymaster-General of the Forces in Ireland under William III.

‡ The present altogether weighed 125 ounces.—Lord Chamberlain's plate-books.

wife's lying-in. He was accompanied by gentlemen volunteers in search of honour, amongst whom were Lord Colchester, Colonel Mathews, and the Duke of Grafton. The latter, having fallen into disfavour with William, was anxious to prove his loyalty to the King and to the principles of the Revolution. Dispossessed by James at Salisbury of his command of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, he had been reinstated by William. He subsequently committed what William regarded as a high crime in voting for a regency when the settlement of the Crown was discussed in Parliament. He was further suspected of intriguing with the exiled James and his party, and when his regiment—which was suspected of Jacobite sympathies—was ordered to Ireland, William took the command from him. As an illegitimate son of Charles II., any line which he might take antagonistic to William's interests was a matter of some consequence—a fact which Monmouth's rebellion had demonstrated clearly enough. Latterly, however, he had exhibited so strong a taste for debauchery that William felt that he had nothing to dread from him.* Hence his appointment to command a ship of seventy guns, which was named after him, and in which he had taken part at the battle of Beachy Head two months before.†

The embarkation of the expeditionary force was long delayed, owing to the difficulty of hiring an adequate number of transports. This delay was extremely irritating to Marlborough, for every day at that season of the year was a matter of consequence. Only a short time remained before the winter would render siege operations impracticable, and to see the precious weeks frittered away in half-hearted attempts to supply ships for his little army was trying even to Marlborough's equable temper. It would seem that the Admiralty were somewhat nettled at being kept in ignorance of the destination of the fleet and the real objects of the expedition.

* Spencer House Papers.

† Her crew was 440 men.

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Marlborough wrote the following letter to his wife on the day after his arrival at Portsmouth:

'The regiments are all here, but as yet no more of the fleet; but I believe to-morrow morning we shall have them, and then I shall lose no time in shipping off the men, so that I may be the sooner back again to you whom I love above my own life; and if you are just to me you will then believe that I have no pleasure in this world equal to that of my thinking that you love me. As ambitious as you sometimes think me, I do assure you I would not live in this place to be emperor of it. I shall have no true satisfaction till I see you again; therefore if you have kindness for me you will have care of your dear self. I have desired my Lord Nottingham to write to me before this place, so that I beg you will take that opportunity of giving me the pleasure of hearing from you, which at this distance is the greatest blessing I am capable of having. Farewell; I am, that I ever shall be, entirely yours, MARLEBOROUGH.—Portchmouth, August 27, 1690.'*

$\frac{8}{9}$-$\frac{9}{9}$, 1690. At length the transports and men-of-war were ready, and on August 30 the troops embarked, Marlborough going on board the Duke of Grafton's ship.†

Writing that same day from London, Mr. Blaithwayt informs Clarke of this embarkation; he mentions that during the march to Portsmouth a considerable number of Beaumont's regiment had deserted. Strong westerly winds and thick rainy weather detained the fleet at Spit-

$\frac{17}{27}$ 9, 1690. head, and it was not until September 17 that all at last got to sea.

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

† The warrants to the Earl of 'Marlboro to embark and take command of eight regiments on board the fleet at Spithead,' and 'to the Admiralty for disembarking such men as my Lord Marlborough shall appoint,' are dated Whitehall, 25, 8, 1690. See 'Military Entry Books,' vol. i., p. 149, Rolls House.

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MARLBOROUGH SAILS FOR CORK.

Lauzun and his Army quit Ireland—Marlborough's correspondence with Ginkel—The transports anchor in Cork Harbour—Dean Davies sent to Marlborough to help him by his local information.

THE siege of Limerick had been pressed forward with all possible speed by William, for bad weather had already set in, and the health of his troops had begun to suffer. The assault, successful at first, having in the end been repulsed, he wisely deemed it best to raise the siege, and to fall back upon Tipperary. The taking of Limerick was thus necessarily postponed to the following year, a result which cast a gloom over his prospects in Ireland. Meantime, his presence was urgently required in London, so, quitting his camp at Tipperary early on the morning of Friday, September 5, he reached Kensington Palace on the following Wednesday, an unusually quick journey at that period. Sept. 9, 1690.

William's policy throughout was to deal leniently with the defeated Irish, and his treatment of them after the battle of the Boyne was in marked contrast to that of Cromwell on like occasions. William had no religious bigotry in his disposition, and the unjust enactments passed in his reign against the Irish Roman Catholics were not in accordance with his views or wishes, but were forced upon him by the Protestant intolerance of the Whig faction. His departure for England immediately after the repulse at Limerick raised the drooping hopes of James's adherents in Ireland; but ere many days had passed, rumours were

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abroad of an intended expedition from England against Cork and Kinsale. It was known in Ireland that Marlborough, with a considerable military and naval force, was waiting at Portsmouth for a fair wind to sail under secret orders, and it was generally believed by the French in Galway that Cork was his destination. The garrison of Galway became much excited at this prospect, and Tyrconnel, now crippled with gout and broken both in mind and body, started at once for France, thinking it high time to join his master at St. Germains.* Count Lauzun, who commanded the French army in Ireland, became anxious about his communications with Brest, which the arrival of Marlborough's fleet off the Irish coast would seriously threaten. He soon came to the conclusion that it would be best to avoid this danger by a prompt retreat, and accordingly he and his army, to the delight of every man in it, embarked for France early in September. Montesquieu says the French officers sent to Ireland had but three things in their heads: to arrive there, to fight, and to get home again as quickly as possible. Lauzun took with him the field train which he had brought from France, but in the hurry of his departure he left behind many of his sick in a condition of extreme misery.†

This was the first-fruit of Marlborough's projected expedition. The only formidable troops on James's side in Ireland were got rid of, proving how wise and far-seeing the English General was when he urged his plans upon Mary and the Council. The mere rumour that Cork was about to be attacked by an army coming from Portsmouth sufficed to clear Ireland of the French contingent. The whole war had been marked by a bitter animosity between the French and Irish soldiers, but when the former quitted

* A letter of $\frac{27}{7}$-$\frac{7}{7}$, 1690, in the Clarke Correspondence, says that a man lately from Limerick reports, *inter alia*, that 'Madme. Tyrconnel et plusieurs autres Dames sont passées en France.'

† Smith's 'Cork,' vol. ii., p. 201; 'An Impartial Account,' etc., p. 136.

Ireland all hope for the success of the Jacobite cause in that country departed with them.

Judging by the letters of several officers, much discontent appears to have existed at this time in the English camps, for though the troops were constantly harassed, the foreign commanders accomplished nothing. The Governour of Waterford, writing to Sir George Clarke, says: $\frac{13}{23}$ 9, 1690. 'If my Lord Marlborough was come, there might be hopes of luck which would end the campaygne very well.'* Four days afterwards he reports to Ginkel's headquarters that three storeships had just arrived from Plymouth, two of them 'with a great quantity of powder, three mortars, and everything proper for the war; the other ship is laden with wine and all sorts of provisions for sale.'

As soon as William's intended return became known in London, orders were sent to Marlborough desiring him to postpone his departure pending the King's arrival. But although the fleet did not weigh anchor till a week after the King's return to Kensington, he did not see Marlborough before the departure of the expeditionary force for Cork.

There would seem to have been some little friction between the naval and military commanders with regard to the delay in starting. We find Marlborough writing 'from on board the *Grafton*' to 'the Admiralls of their $\frac{14}{24}$ 9, 1690. Majeste's fleet' to inquire whether they meant to sail that evening or the next day. In the hope of hurrying them, he said that the King had ordered him to send him an express 'when we sail from St. Ellins. I must alsoe putt you in mind of a store shipe that is att Plimouth, soe that if you will order a man of warre thether, I will send in her Capt. Brown' (his engineer officer), 'soe that he may see that all the stores that we expect are on board.'†

The wind being at last fair, the English and Dutch fleet, with the hired transports, in all eighty ships, great and

* Clarke Correspondence: Colonel Brewer to Clarke.

† Mr. Alfred Morrison's collection of autograph letters.

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small, sailed from Portsmouth on September 17. By five p.m. it was clear of St. Helen's, standing to the westward with a north-east breeze. Its destination was still unknown, but although it was said to be the coast of Normandy, London had already begun to suspect its real object.* Until, however, it was actually proclaimed in London that Marlborough had landed near Cork, there was no certainty as to what his orders really were. The notion that he was to attack some point on the coast of Normandy in retaliation for the burning of Teignmouth had been sedulously fostered by the Queen in Council, and the rumour caused so much uneasiness in Paris that when Lewis first heard that a powerful English fleet, with a considerable body of troops, had sailed westward, he became seriously alarmed for the safety of Brest, Rochelle, and other ports in the Channel. In fact, he seems to have fallen readily into the trap set for him.†

$\frac{17}{27}$ 9, 1690.

$\frac{17}{27}$ 9, 1690. As soon as the fleet had passed the Isle of Wight, Marlborough sent 'a fly-boat' in advance to Waterford to inform the authorities in Ireland that he hoped to be off Cork in a few days. He says: 'We are'—at 3 p.m., September 17—'now clear of the Isle of Wight, with a fair wind, which, if it continues, I hope in a few days will carry us to Cork.' By order of the King, he did the same when he cleared the Land's End. He also wrote to Count Solmes, who he believed was still the Commander of the Forces in Ireland, but, as a matter of fact, the Count had already started for England, leaving General Ginkel in supreme command.‡ Ginkel was a commander of no military attainments, but his pleasing manners made him a general favourite.

$\frac{19}{29}$ 9, 1690. Marlborough's letter to Count Solmes is dated, 'From

* Luttrell's Diary, 19, 9, 1690.

† *Ibid.*, 21, 9, 1690.

‡ When Ginkel replaced Solmes, the next senior officer was the Duke of Wirtemburg, who commanded the Foot; the next to him was De Schravemor, who commanded the Horse. The Major-Generals, according to order of seniority, were Mackay, the Marquis de Rouvigny (a French Protestant refugee), Tollemache, and Tettau, the Dane.

on board their Majesties' Fleet.' He says the King had ordered him to inform the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland as soon as he passed Land's End, so that troops might be sent to join him and assist 'to attack Cork and Kinsale.' He mentions the fact that his soldiers were sickly, from their three weeks' detention on board ship previous to sailing. It was his intention, he continued, to land on the Kinsale side of Cork Harbour, at a place called Cross Haven, or else at West Passage, both places being 'within the harbour.' He adds: 'The King desires you would send Colonel Villiers to me, that I might know what progress he has made in his correspondence in Kingsale.' From this it is evident that he had already taken measures to obtain secret information of the enemy's doings—a matter to which, in common with every other good General, he invariably attended with the utmost care. He also asks that Sir John Lanier and Major-General Kirke should be sent with the reinforcements coming to join him. 'You will pardon the liberty I take in begging this favour, since there is nobody more desirous of receiving your commands, nor shall with more punctuallness observe them than your, etc., etc., MARLBOROUGH.' He was always a bad sailor, and upon this occasion suffered much. He adds in a postscript to the above letter: 'The sea is so rough and I am so sick that I am affrayed you can hardly read what I have writt, so that I beg leave to referr to the bearer.'* By the same messenger he sent a letter 'to the Principall officers of their Majesties' Ordnance at Waterford,' conveying the King's orders that he was to have whatever military stores he might require. He requested that all available pick-axes, shovels, three-inch planks, wool-sacks and sand-bags should be sent to him at Cork, and that an officer might be sent in charge of them. A letter from Waterford reports that eight big guns had just been shipped there for despatch to Cork, and in another it is stated that, 'We have horse shoose here to supply Mons. Schravemor with as many as

* Clarke MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin.

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he wants.' In the operations near Mallow, that officer's horses had lost many shoes in the deep muddy roads of the neighbourhood, and in acknowledging their receipt he says, 'I think you have a great deal of care of the cavalry, as to send us horse-shoes without nails.'*

$\frac{21}{1}$-$\frac{0}{10}$, 1690. On Monday, 'about one o'clock, a messenger' is sent from Waterford to tell the Irish 'Secretary at War' that a large fleet is working for Cork, and that he (the Governour) is about to start for it with a letter to Marlborough from Count Solmes. It may be assumed that this letter was merely an intimation of his departure for England, and of his having handed over the command in Ireland to General Ginkel.

$\frac{22}{2}$-$\frac{0}{10}$, 1690. Ginkel, on receipt of Marlborough's letter to Count Solmes, at once wrote to say that he had opened it, as he had succeeded to the chief command, and that he had been for some time anxiously expecting Marlborough's arrival. He hoped that General Schravemor had already joined him before Cork with 900 Horse and 300 Dragoons;† and added that he had also ordered between three and four thousand Foot to meet him there. If Sir J. Lanier and General Kirke 'were in these parts, your Lordship might be sure of a very willing' consent on his part, but they were both together, with all the English troops, 'about the Shannon, observing the motions of the enemy, who still remain in a body,' and 'intend an incursion into our quarters, so that it is impossible for them to wayte upon your Lordship. But the Duke of Wirtemburg having expressed a great desire to be engaged in this affair, I could not refuse his Grace my consent, which I the more easily agreed to, because I am sure he will make no difficulty in the point of command. With this I send your Lordship an account of the Ammunition and Stores which will come to you by sea from Waterford.' He informs him also that 'Villiers is already with Count Schravemor,' that the army contractor has been ordered to

* Clarke Correspondence.

† Two hundred Dragoons only were sent with Schravemor.

supply his troops with bread, and that he wished he could be a spectator of the success which he had no doubt would attend him. 'But the Irish threatening every hour to break in upon us and attempt Dublin and the more northern Quarters, obliges me to continue hereabouts, with that very small number of men I have left myself that I may in some measure do something and be able further to help your Lordship.' (Signed) BAR. DE GHINKEL.*

This was a strictly truthful statement as far as it went, but he did not tell Marlborough that he had deliberately sent away Lanier, Kirke, and the English troops to take up winter quarters in the King's and Queen's Counties on the $\frac{13}{23}$ 9, 1690. very day on which he had despatched Schravemor and Tettau with a number of foreign troops to join Marlborough.† He knew that, in order to make the capture of Cork and Kinsale a certainty, the King had ordered Solmes to send Marlborough all the troops he could spare, yet he had deliberately selected these foreign mercenaries for this service in preference to the equally available British regiments. He was evidently determined that Marlborough should not be exclusively surrounded by English officers and English troops, and that the foreign Generals and their soldiers should share in the success which he clearly foresaw that Marlborough was about to obtain. Were Marlborough to achieve any fresh military reputation without the assistance and co-operation of the foreign officers, it would, he feared, give the successful English General a position and an influence in the army that might gravely imperil their personal interests at Court. A victory won by him at the head of British troops alone would jeopardize their possession of the high military posts which they regarded as their exclusive right. Notwithstanding his disclaimer on the part of the Duke of Wirtemburg of any pretensions to the

* Clarke MS. Correspondence.

† See a very interesting diary of these events in 'Villare Hibernicum, being an Exact Account,' etc., by W. Griffiths, Esq.; London, 1690.

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chief command, it is tolerably certain that Ginkel was aware of his intention to claim that position in virtue of his royal descent. It was a point upon which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, it is absurd to suppose that the Commander-in-Chief had not informed himself, unless, indeed, from having some indirect means of knowing the Duke's intentions, he had purposely avoided asking him.

The fleet carrying Marlborough's little army made the land near the strikingly beautiful entrance to Cork harbour on the evening of Saturday, September 20, and lay-to for the night. At daybreak on the following morning it stood-in for the mouth of the harbour, which was protected by a battery of eight guns at Prince Rupert's Tower, which, remodelled and enlarged, is now known as Fort Carlisle. From these guns the enemy opened a brisk fire on the ships as they came within range, but two frigates soon silenced them with their broadsides, and a volunteer party of sturdy soldiers sent ashore, quickly put their garrisons to flight. About noon the fleet anchored within the harbour, for the pilots would not take it further up on an ebb tide with scarcely any wind to help them.* It anchored for the night in waters where many a hostile flotilla had in former times found shelter from a stormy ocean without; and not far off, on the western shore of the harbour, was the estuary, up whose winding course Drake successfully hid his squadron from the pursuing Spaniards.

$\frac{21}{1}$-$\frac{8}{10}$, 1690.

Marlborough forthwith despatched messengers to Schravemor and Tettau, desiring them to join him at Cork without delay. He knew that they were at Mallow, having left Ginkel's camp at Tipperary a week before with 900 Horse, 200 Dragoons, and two battalions of Danes.† Sarsfield

* 'A full and true Relation of the taking of Corke,' etc., in the British Museum. Also the 'Villare Hibernicum,' and Mr. Crofton Croker's account of the siege.

† Luttrell says in his last entry for March, 1690, that the native Irish had a superstitious horror of the Danes, by whom, an old

was at Banahar Bridge with a force of three field-pieces and some 5,000 Irish of all arms.* His reason for being there is not very clear, but as there was a great scarcity of forage in Connaught, it was generally thought that he had merely taken up this new position for the sake of his horses.

Upon receipt of these orders, Schravemor and Tettau set out for Cork, and the day after the Duke of Wirtemburg, with detachments from the Huguenot and Dutch regiments, marched from Cashel. In all, the Foot who joined Marlborough at Cork numbered about 4,000. There was not an Englishman amongst them, so determined was Ginkel to surround Marlborough with foreigners. $\frac{23}{3}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690.

Marlborough had ordered the ships with his siege-guns, stores, ammunition, etc., to make for Waterford, and upon his arrival at Cork they were to join him there. He had sent Lieutenant Turner with these ships, desiring him upon reaching Waterford to proceed to army headquarters at Cashel, and explain the position to the Commander of the Forces. When Turner had executed these orders, Ginkel sent him on with a small escort of Horse to meet Marlborough at Cork. He also sent with him Dr. R. Davies, Dean of Ross, who, knowing the country round Cork thoroughly well, would, he thought, be of great use to Marlborough during the campaign.† $\frac{23}{3}$ $\frac{9}{10}$, 1690.

prophecy asserted, the Irish would eventually be destroyed. So strong was this dread of the Danes that James II. made it penal to assert they had landed with William in Ireland that year.

* *London Gazette*, No. 2,596 of 1690.

† His diary of the siege, which is very interesting, is given in vol. lxviii. of Camden Papers. Driven from Cork by the cruel oppression to which the Protestants had there been subjected, he had returned to Ireland as chaplain to Schomberg's regiment of Horse, now the 7th Dragoon Guards. He was known as an astrologer, as well as the author of several controversial works which made him unpopular amongst the Roman Catholics, one of whom libelled him thus:

'Now the question I crave is,
What mean those three letters beside Dr. Dean Davies?
I'll answer you twice, Dark Divinity Dabbler,
May the Devil Damn Doubly this Blockhead and Babbler.'

CHAPTER LXIII.

CORK AND ITS DEFENCES.

'The spreading Lee, that like an island fair,
Encloseth Cork with his divided flood.'
'Faerie Queen,' Cant. ii., Book iv.

Description of the City of Cork.

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THE ancient city of Cork had been a thriving commercial centre until Tyrconnel stationed an Irish garrison there. The trade of the place was entirely in the hands of the Protestant settlers, of whom some had amassed considerable fortunes, which, in common with many of their co-religionists throughout the country, they had sent to England for safe keeping at the beginning of the troubled times which Tyrconnel's anti-English rule had brought upon them. Much wealth must still have remained, however, in the city, for we read that Mr. Boileau, the French Governour appointed by James II., sent home money and goods to the supposed value of £30,000, which he had robbed from the rich Protestant traders during his short period of office.* In 1689, as soon as it became known in Cork that James had sailed for Ireland, some 140 of these settlers—Irish in all but race—fled to Bristol, and soon afterwards whole colonies of pillaged Protestants from all parts of Ireland were to be seen in English cities, notably

* Dean Davies's Journal, vol. lxviii. of Camden Society; MacCarthy's 'History of Cork,' p. 53.

ROCHE'S CASTLE AND TOLL BAR, AND THE SHIP GATE, CORK, 1690

FROM A CONTEMPORARY PICTURE.

in London. There was, in fact, a general exodus of the well-to-do Protestant families, who dreaded a repetition of the massacres of 1641, or the risk of being handed over to be governed by the priest-ridden criminals who had planned, or at least acquiesced in, those atrocities.

With them all that was best in Ireland departed, for they represented whatever civilization, learning, capital, and industry was to be found in the island. Many of these penniless refugees suffered great privations in England until William's reconquest of Ireland enabled them to return to their ruined homes. Throughout the previous year (1689) the Protestants in the South of Ireland had been ruthlessly pillaged, their places of worship shut up, and those in the city of Cork imprisoned in the churches, Court-house, and other public buildings, many being sent as prisoners to Blarney and Macroom Castles.*

The word 'Cork' is an English corruption of the Irish 'coreagh,' a marsh. The city, enclosed with walls before the first English conquest of Ireland, had been built upon the highest part of a marshy island in the estuary of the river Lee, about ten miles above the point where that river flows into the harbour. The site was so low that the streets were subject to floods during high tides. The walls extended about 700 yards north and south entirely across the island, their wet ditches cutting off its eastern and western extremities, which were marshy, and usually covered at spring tides. The extreme width of the city east and west between the walls was about 250 yards. The river Lee, which surrounds the island, flows through a deep valley, on the high banks of which stood the north and south suburbs, the latter being the better built and the more important of the two. The walls, of rough limestone set in strong mortar, were high, that on the west being for the most part six feet thick at base; whilst the eastern wall was from eight to twelve feet thick at bottom and

* Gibson's 'History of Cork,' vol. ii.; 'The Cork Remembrancer,' by F. H. Tuckie.

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eight at top.* Although the walls were not constructed to resist even the guns then in use, yet the river formed so effective an obstacle that the place was very difficult of access. The only flanking defence was afforded by some twelve insignificant towers, of which the four at the corners of the city, which were bastion-shaped, were the most important, that at the south-east corner being the largest and strongest. Midway in the eastern wall stood the water-gate, through which, up to the date of the siege, ships entered at high-tide to lie alongside the Custom-house quay. This waterway extended half across the city to the main street, at which point Droup's mill-stream joined it, passing under Middle Bridge, where stood the old Guildhall. The water-gate was defended by two towers, originally round, and known as the King's and Queen's Castles, from which the arms of the city—two fortified towers with a ship sailing between them—are taken. The King's Castle was the more important of the two, and was sometimes called *the* 'Castle of Cork.'† Between the water-gate and the Queen's Castle was a sally port, communicating with the eastern marsh by means of a drawbridge.

Running north and south through the city was the Main Street of the present day, at that time dividing it into fairly equal halves. From this street ran right and left to the eastern and western walls the squalid alleys in which lived the bulk of the Celtic population. At the northern and southern extremities of Main Street were wooden bridges extending to the suburbs, each provided with a drawbridge and defended by a castle. The French engineers whom James had ordered to strengthen the defences of the city had cleared away the houses round the southern bridge-head and had constructed some new out-

* Large portions of these walls were still standing down to 1750, when they were almost entirely removed. A few bits here and there are still to be found.

† The King's Castle was demolished in 1718, and the Queen's at a somewhat earlier date. The drawing I give of Cork shows these castles, etc.

works.* In the northern and less important suburb stood Shandon Castle, for centuries the official residence of the Governour.† It stood about seventy feet above what is locally called the 'flat of the city,' and was 225 yards distant from the north-eastern bastion of the enceinte. Although it added but little to the strength of the place, it would, in the hands of an enemy, afford an admirable position for batteries directed against the city. Round its northern side were some weak entrenchments connecting it on the east with the Shandon or Kiln River, which joins the Lee close by, on the west with the 'Guth an Noe,' or the fortified 'New Gate,' which stood on the 'Height of Mallow Lane,' and also with two unfinished and detached works to the west and north-west. In the southern or more important suburb were two forts, called respectively 'The Cat' and 'Elizabeth.' The 'Cat' was a detached and still unfinished work, which added little to the strength of the place, but, being situated on a hill with a command of about ninety feet above the city, its possession, as with Shandon Castle, would enable the besieger to carry havoc into the ranks of the garrison. In fact, it was the key of the position which Marlborough had been told of before he proposed the attack upon Cork to Queen Mary's Council. Fort Elizabeth was a strong, square, well-built modern work, with four bastions and a sort of ravelin in the middle of its northern face.‡ The rock on which this fort stands was scarped towards the city, but its south face was weak, and it was looked into from the Cat. It had been built in Elizabeth's reign 'to curb the insolence of the citizens.'

* The ground now covered by Barrack and Cove Streets was then known as 'Crooke's Acre,' and on this the new outworks were erected.

† The following year the Governour lived in lodgings in the city, for we find from an entry in the Council book that the Corporation, 'in lieu of finding him quarters agreeable to his quality,' etc., allowed him £20 sterling per annum to find his own lodgings.

‡ These two forts are now occupied by the headquarters of the Cork Artillery Militia. The north-west bastion, still standing, was, according to local tradition, the felons' graveyard.

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The defences of the city had been lately strengthened; but unless the suburbs and the high ground beyond were also secured, the city could not hold out long after the besieger had erected batteries there. The effective defence of Cork required a larger and better garrison than the 5,000 Irish troops which were all that the Governour had at his disposal.* So little defensive importance was attached to the city walls after the siege, that the Mayor and Corporation soon petitioned to have them removed. The Governour, Colonel Macgillicuddy,† placed his hope in being relieved by Berwick, and when that hope was dashed he trusted that bad weather, with its inevitable result of sickness, would compel Marlborough to retire, as William had so lately been obliged to do from before Limerick.

* The garrison consisted of the following seven regiments of Foot: Macgillicuddy, Clancarty, Tyrone, MacCarthy, Barret, and another whose name is not recorded.

† He is described by Pike the Quaker in his account of the siege as 'the rude and boisterous Macgillicuddy,' but Lauzun, in a letter to Louvois, alludes to him as 'one of the best men that we have in Ireland.'

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THE INVESTMENT OF CORK.

General Schravemor joins the English Forces before Cork—Marlborough reconnoitres the place—Occupies Cat Fort—The Duke of Wirtemburg arrives and claims the Chief Command—Serious dispute between Marlborough and him—A compromise effected.

MONDAY was a lovely autumn morning at Cork, and there was not a ripple on the broad-bosomed expanse of land-locked water as the fleet got under way at daybreak. The wind had died away during the night, and the sails flapped idly against the masts as the still flowing tide carried this motley fleet of eighty vessels slowly towards the anchorage at West Passage. Every available sailor was in a boat $\frac{23}{24}$-$\frac{0}{10}$, 1690. rowing hard to tow his ship clear of others and to keep her in the right direction. Every sort and size of craft was there, from the humble little ketch, pink and bomber to the stately man-of-war with high poop and elaborately carved stern. It was, perhaps, as picturesque a sight as was ever seen in the beautiful and historic harbour of Cork; a brave show of fighting sea life that might well have inspired Van der Velde, had he been there, to paint it. During the day a battery of eight guns opened on the fleet from the western shore. The frigates replied, and, sending three armed boats ashore, a landing party took the battery, dismounted the guns and threw their carriages into the sea,* enabling the men-of-war and transports to enter the narrow

* Burchett's 'Memoirs of Transactions at Sea'; London, 1703.

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waters without further molestation. The fort on the island of Haulbowline was found to be unoccupied, and was at once taken possession of. It was important as a point from which the enemy might have seriously annoyed and damaged the fleet. Before sundown the fleet anchored at West Passage, as near the shore as possible. A detachment of troops landed at once to cover the disembarkation ordered to begin at daybreak.

$\frac{3}{9}$-$\frac{13}{19}$, 1690. Between two and three a.m. on the following morning the bulk of the army was transhipped into boats and small vessels and disembarked before five a.m. at West Passage, then an insignificant village, nearly seven miles eastward of the city, and half-way between it and Cove. In the afternoon the field artillery and the rest of the troops were landed, and the whole army encamped before nightfall.* Two troops of Irish Dragoons, supported by some Foot, had made a show of opposition, but were easily beaten off. Marlborough now summoned the Governour, who indignantly refused to surrender, 'and hung out a bloody flag, firing several guns.'

$\frac{23}{8}$-$\frac{13}{19}$, 1690. After a march of over twenty miles from Mallow, Schravemor encamped that same evening on the high ground above Water's Mills, about half a mile north of

$\frac{24}{4}$-$\frac{13}{19}$, 1690. the city. He was joined on the morning of the following day (Wednesday) by Dean Davies, who had come from Cashel, and who found him anxious about the movements of the Duke of Berwick, then believed to be advancing from Banahar Bridge with all the troops he could collect to prevent the siege. It was feared that he might interpose between Marlborough and the Duke of Wirtemburg and so be in a position to deal with them separately; the Dean was accordingly sent back to Fermoy to beg the Duke to push forward with all possible speed.

$\frac{24}{1}$-$\frac{9}{19}$, 1690. Wednesday was a busy day with both army and navy.

* 'Villare Hibernicum,' and MS. No. 29,878, British Museum, in which is given the diary of Ensign W. Cramond, an officer in Collier's regiment.

The Admiral landed some 600 sailors and marines and all the available gunners and carpenters from the fleet, to assist in the disembarkation of the guns, ammunition, provisions and other military stores. In this heavy work the Duke of Grafton took a leading part, and set a brilliant example to his subordinates. Before leaving Portsmouth a considerable quantity of powder and shot was transferred from the men-of-war remaining there to the ships of the expeditionary fleet, and this was now landed for the use of the batteries, which it was intended to erect at once. The store and provision ships arrived in the evening from Waterford. Marlborough, covering his advance by two detachments of about 800 men under Colonel Hales, pushed forward in the afternoon about five and a half miles, and took up a position close to the suburbs, not more than a mile from the city itself. The enemy lined the hedges on the outskirts of the place, and skirmishing took place during the afternoon, but the loss was inconsiderable on both sides. Some sixty or seventy Irish Dragoons 'drew out' as the English army was pitching camp and took up a threatening position close by, but were soon driven off by Marlborough's field-guns. Later on, he sent forward a couple of thousand men to take up a commanding position within musket-shot of the southern suburb, and the enemy, seeing the English advance, fired one volley and retreated, setting fire to the houses as they went.* This was a direct violation of an agreement entered into the day before by the Protestant merchants and traders with the Governour, who promised, in consideration of £500, to spare the suburbs. Hundreds of well-to-do Protestant families were thus reduced to beggary,† and amongst those who lost their property were many wealthy Quakers. Some, however, like the shrewd Joseph Pike, had removed their goods beforehand, knowing

* *London Gazette*, No. 2,598 of 1690; 'Villare Hibernicum.'

† Sir David Coxe's narrative of the siege. Diary of Dean Davies in vol. lxviii. of Camden Society Papers.

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from experience how little fair treatment they could expect from the Irish. Deserters from the enemy reported that on Saturday the garrison had been augmented by the arrival of two regiments from Kinsale. About midnight the enemy again attacked the English outposts, but disappeared after a little firing, leaving some twenty dead behind them.

During the afternoon General Tettau had advanced with 1,000 men towards the northern suburb, and had placed some guns in a position from which an effective fire could be opened on Shandon Castle and the works newly constructed around it.* The intention was to storm the northern suburb under the fire of these guns; but when everything was ready for the assault, the enemy, setting fire to the suburb, withdrew from the castle and the adjoining works and retreated hastily into the city. In this conflagration the old Church of Our Lady, or St. Mary's, Shandon, was burned.†

Schravemor, on reaching the northern suburb, despatched his Adjutant, Keks, to report to headquarters. He returned in the afternoon with orders from Marlborough for the march of a detachment of Horse to the south side of the river, where it was required to cover the English Foot in the southern suburb. Two hundred Horse and some few Dragoons were accordingly sent in the evening to the Lough of Cork‡ and Carrigrohane Castle, whence they scoured the surrounding country. This detachment was conducted by Dean Davies across the Lee by a ford near the church of Carry Kippane, some three miles above Cork.§ Whilst passing the ford they were seen by some Irish soldiers, and being taken for Berwick's army—then hourly expected—the garrison of the city beat their

* Rapin.

† Its site was where St. Anne's, Shandon, now stands.

‡ A large sheet of about seventeen acres of water near the city, and close to the Kinsale and Bandon roads. Its level is about sixty feet above the city.

§ The ruins of this church are still to be seen.

drums and cheered lustily. It was not long, however, before they discovered their mistake, and meanwhile the cavalry took possession of the lanes and scattered houses to the south-west of the city. Their headquarters were at Gill Abbey House, the private residence of the Dean, and thanks to his local knowledge, a good line of communication was soon opened out between the troops on both banks of the river.*

Before daybreak on Thursday the Admiral sent up the river ten armed pinnaces, the crews of which were to assist in arming the batteries and afterwards with hand-grenades when the assault should take place.† Marlborough assured the Admiral that the place would be in his possession in three or four days, and his calculation proved to be literally correct. Early on the morning of the 25th, Marlborough, accompanied by his staff, made a close reconnaissance of the city walls and of the forts and other works beyond. He found that the regular entrances by the bridges at the north and south gates were both comparatively strong, especially the south gate, which had been recently strengthened, and he saw that in order to force that gate it would be necessary first to capture Fort Elizabeth, an operation which would certainly entail heavy loss and would still leave the English south of the river. But in front of the eastern wall there were no outworks, and no flanking fire of any importance could be brought to bear upon a column attacking in that direction. The approach was, however, difficult, leading as it did, first across the south channel of the river and then over the southern marshes. The Lee at that point was only fordable at low tide, and even then with difficulty, and the marshes were always soft and difficult to cross, being sometimes entirely covered

$\frac{25}{6}$-$\frac{26}{6}$, 1690.

* Gill Abbey, formerly the Abbey of St. Fin Barre, was the oldest ecclesiastical establishment in Cork. It stood near the site of the existing Queen's College, but no portion of it now remains. Gibbon's 'Cork.'

† Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals.'

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at high-water. Nevertheless, he determined to make his attack there, for although it would not be so easy to breach the eastern as the southern wall, a successful assault delivered on that side would bring about the immediate fall of the city, which would ensure the surrender of Elizabeth Fort and of all other outworks. The point which he selected to breach in the eastern wall was about sixty yards north of the southern channel of the river, and between the south-eastern bastion of the city and Hopewell Tower, which stood at the eastern end of Christchurch Lane.* The spot where the breach was made can still be identified between where the two alleys, Old Post-office Lane and Kift's Lane, ended at the eastern ramparts of the city. A small portion of the old wall is still to be seen near this spot.

Finding that the enemy had evacuated Cat Fort, he ordered it to be immediately occupied by Colonel Hale's detachment, which had furnished the line of outposts during the night.† But these orders were forestalled by two seamen, who, prowling about in the neighbourhood of their quarters, as is the wont of the British sailor ashore, found the fort empty, and at once climbed into it with that intelligent initiative which has always characterized the men of our navy. The fort was a work of no strength in itself, but its possession was most important to the besiegers. A couple of hours after its occupation some big guns arrived, from which fire was opened on the south-eastern bastion of the city at a range of 370 yards, and on Fort Elizabeth at 300 yards; the enemy fired little in return, having but a very limited amount of ammunition. Marlborough ordered a battery to be at once constructed at the Cat for two 24 and three 18 pounder guns. From it he was able to enfilade the eastern walls of the city, and to

* The city club-house now stands on the site of this south-east bastion. Christchurch, after which the lane was named, suffered severely from its proximity to the breach.

† *London Gazette*, No. 2,598 of 1690; 'Villare Hibernicum.'

see somewhat into the adjoining streets. The surrounding hedges afforded admirable cover for Colonel Hale's men, who soon opened a lively musketry fire upon the enemy's posts. Marlborough now moved his camp into the suburbs, $\frac{26}{5}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690. and established his advanced posts as close as possible to Elizabeth Fort and the city walls. According to local tradition he himself took up his quarters in the Red Abbey, a fine early-fifteenth-century building, which had been chiefly used since the Reformation as a private residence.* From the top of its high church tower, now the only part of the abbey standing, he was able to observe the enemy's movements and watch his own daily progress. The traveller who is enterprising enough to penetrate the filthy slum which now surrounds it and mount the dirty, broken ladders by which the remains of the 'Irish stepped parapet' may be reached, can judge for himself of what service the tower must have been to the English General as a point of observation.† The closely-packed graveyard below, where lie the remains of many a British soldier, is near, if it is not the actual site of another battery, armed with three 18 and two 24 pounders, which Marlborough erected to play upon the south-eastern bastion of the city at a range of 300 yards. These guns also bore upon Fort $\frac{26}{5}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690. Elizabeth, which was 420 yards distant.‡ He threw up another battery near the Mitre Inn, about 200 yards due south of that fort, and yet another at the Friar's Garden, near Gallows Green, full 600 yards from Fort Elizabeth. The ditches and sheltered lanes near the fort rendered parallels and approaches unnecessary.§ The Danish

* It was built in 1420 by Patrick, eleventh Earl of Kinsale. Lady Fanshawe, in her memoirs, says she lived in the Red Abbey during her stay in Cork in 1650.

† This form of decoration for the towers of churches was formerly universal in Ireland. Indeed, the tower of almost every church built there before the disestablishment of the Irish Church was so ornamented.

‡ The terre plein of the bastion of Fort Elizabeth is about sixty-five feet higher than the city at the north and south gates.

§ MS., Brit. Museum, No. 29,878.

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battalions on the north side of the city pressed the investment from that side. They occupied Shandon Castle, and constructed a battery there.* In the construction and arming of all these batteries the gunners and carpenters of the fleet rendered most valuable service.

In the meantime, Dean Davies, who had been sent back to the Duke of Wirtemburg, met His Serene Highness at Fermoy, just as his guns had crossed the Blackwater, and started back forthwith to assure Marlborough that the Duke would join him on the following night.†

As the Duke had no cavalry, Marlborough despatched some Horse to protect him on the march. But this precaution was scarcely necessary; for when Berwick, upon reaching Kilmallock‡ with about 8,000 men, found that there was no longer any possibility of striking in between the troops which Wirtemburg and Schravemor were bringing to Marlborough's assistance, he relinquished his project and determined to retreat. Thinking, however, that the garrison of Cork might still effect its escape, he ordered the Governour to march out at once and push rapidly for Kerry before he was hopelessly shut in by the English. It is to be recorded with regret that he added to this order the barbarous injunction to burn the place before he quitted it. The Governour was, perhaps, justly blamed for disobeying the former part of this order, as the garrison was thereby lost to the Jacobite cause in Ireland. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that, had not Marlborough been in command of the English, so much time might have been wasted over the siege by some slow-moving, formal Dutch General that the capture of Cork would have been doubtful, and that of Kinsale would have been out of the

* No vestige of Shandon Castle now remains, but its site was the present Crane House, close to the butter market. There are two Shandon Churches, but neither was ever celebrated for its peal of bells, so rhythmically referred to in Father Prout's delightful lines on Cork.

† It is twenty-four miles from Fermoy to Cork.

‡ Forty-six miles from Cork.

question for that year. As it was, even Marlborough, with all his energy, was only just able to effect it, and that not without serious loss from bad weather and exposure. Macgillicuddy's mistake was, in fact, due to his ignorance of the character of his opponent. 1690.

The following letter is Marlborough's official report of his proceedings up to Thursday: $\frac{25}{5}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690.

'From before Corke, Sept. 25th, '90.—My Lord,—We came into Corke harbor on munday the 22nd. The next morning I landed all the men, and wensday, being the 24th, I came to this place, notwithstanding that I heard nothing of the horse, being resolved not to lose this good weather. Att our arrivall here they lined the hedges, but wear very easily beaten from them, we only lost 3 men, and this day we are masters of a place called the Catte, which commands the Castell, and the town. I hope in god in few days his majiste will be master of the town, this day I believe we have lost aboute 10 men, to-moroe I hope to make a breach in the Castell which if I doe, I shall storm itt the next day, they flater themselves, that they shall have a relife to-moroe. I have as yett but 200 horse and 25 dragoons, but shall have 300 horse more to-moroe, I am your most faithfull servant, Marleborough.'*

The weather had been fine so far, and everything connected with the operations had gone well.† All through Friday Marlborough's guns played with effect upon Fort Elizabeth, and upon the point in the Eastern wall of the city which it was intended to breach; the Irish deserters, of whom there were many, reported that the garrison had already suffered severely. The parapets of the south-eastern bastion and the curtain near the gate were destroyed, and towards evening shells were thrown into the city. Marlborough now pushed forward his advanced posts into the ruined suburbs, the more closely to invest $\frac{26}{0}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690.

* Rolls Office: Domestic Papers, Ireland, No. 367 (1685-1691).

† *London Gazette*, No. 2,598, of 1690. A naval officer thus describes the weather, writing from on board the *Kent*, in Cork Harbour.

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Fort Elizabeth, effecting a lodgment between the Fort and the gates of the city, and cutting off all communication between them.

$\frac{26}{6}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690. Duke Ferdinand William of Wirtemburg, having reached the northern suburb of Cork on Friday evening, as he had engaged to do, at once crossed the river to Marlborough's headquarters, and without further ado claimed the command of the army in virtue of his Royal descent. He asserted that as a Prince of a sovereign house he was entitled to command all Generals of humbler parentage. Marlborough, nine years older, and his senior as a Lieutenant-General, had been appointed under Mary's sign-

$\frac{25}{4}$-$\frac{8}{5}$, 1690. manual to command the troops in this expedition.* His claim was based on this commission, on his seniority in rank, and on the fact that he was in command of an army of his own countrymen, whereas Wirtemburg only commanded a contingent, and that not of his own nation. Marlborough communicated to him what Ginkel, the Commander of the Forces in Ireland, had written on this subject in his letter of the 22nd; but the Duke, adopting an overbearing and aggravating tone, would not withdraw his outrageous pretension. It was a matter of great importance to England and to William that Cork and Kinsale should be taken before the winter set in, while to Marlborough personally it was of the utmost moment that he should succeed, for he had staked his reputation upon the result when he pressed Mary and the Council to consent to the expedition. He was as yet the only English officer to whom William had confided an independent command: the appointment was most distasteful to all the King's Dutch advisers, and he was well aware that failure on his part would be hailed with delight by every foreign officer in the English service. He had at last obtained an opportunity of proving that he was indeed a leader of men, and if he failed now, it was not likely that he would ever be given another. He had had long and

* See *ante*, p. 158.

valuable training as a diplomatist in the management of men, and he knew the ways of Princes, their prejudices, and their modes of thought, and he was an adept in the sort of flattery to which they are most susceptible. From long practice at Court he had acquired a complete mastery over himself—the first essential for one who aspires to rule others—and he possessed an intimate knowledge of human vanities. His diplomatic skill, therefore, was fully equal to the occasion. He was alive to the absurdity of Wirtemburg's pretensions, and to the arrogance with which they were pressed; but he felt that in his own interests, if from no higher motive, it was necessary to arrive at some sort of compromise. He, therefore, firmly, but with that grace of manner which was peculiarly his own, refused to recognise the Duke's preposterous demand. His Highness's notions of etiquette and of what was due to a Prince were outraged by what he regarded as this common Englishman's presumption. That a General who was simply a gentleman should presume to command a Serene Highness was monstrous, while the firmness, deference, and courtesy with which his bluster was met turned the Prince's fury into rudeness. Marlborough was sorely tried, but his imperturbable good temper proved a rock of strength to him. Whilst he endeavoured to soothe the wounded vanity of the Duke by extreme deference, he was casting about in his fertile brain for some compromise, some practical way out of this absurd but difficult position. Time pressed, for the autumn tints already warned him of the approaching sickly season and of the Irish winter, so much dreaded by English soldiers. Had there been time to refer the point in dispute to the King, Marlborough felt that William's prejudice in favour of princely birth and his distrust of English Generals would probably influence the decision against him, and to call in Ginkel, the Commander of the Forces in Ireland, to arbitrate between them, would be to place himself in the hands of a Dutch General, who would naturally side with the Prince.

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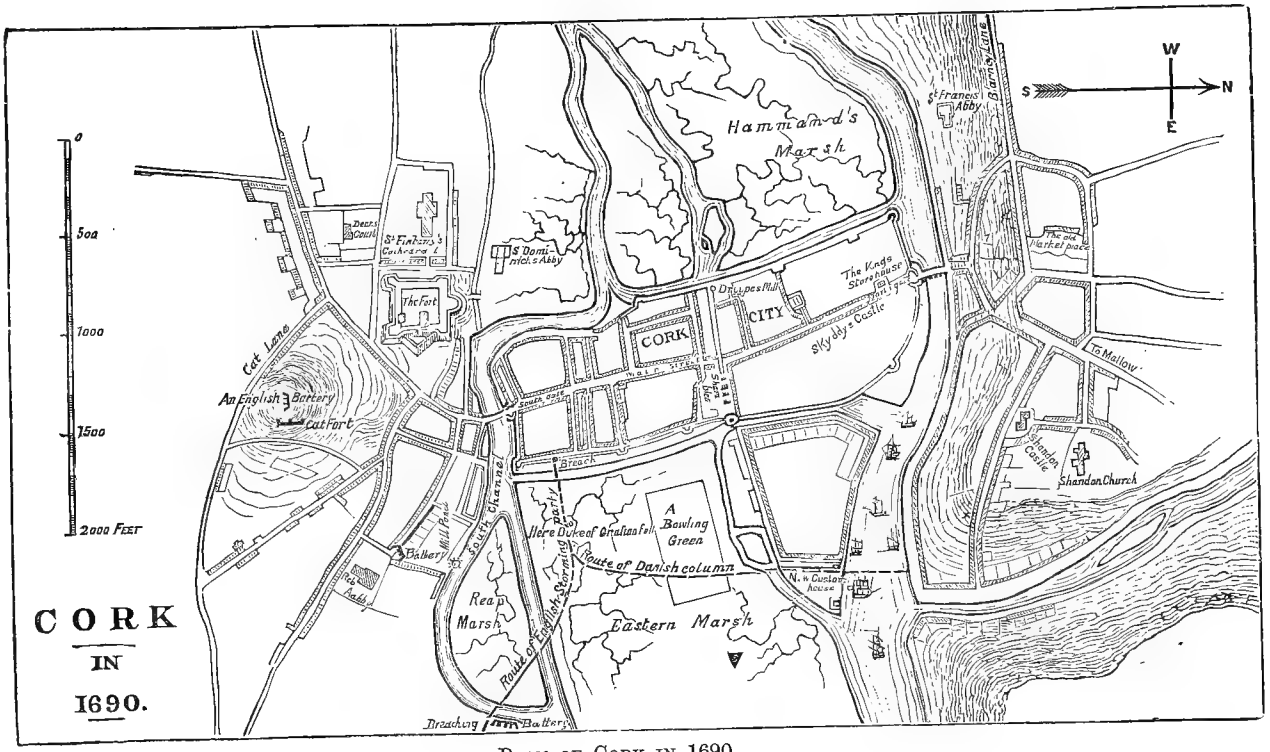
Only one course by which he could stave off the difficulty, and possibly in the end surmount it altogether, lay open to him, namely, the old expedient of surrendering the supreme command to the Duke on every alternate day. It was, and always has been, a dangerous expedient, and, if he remembered the Roman history taught him by his father, he might have recalled the result of a similar arrangement between the Roman consuls at Cannæ. But in no other way could the Duke be appeased; so the Huguenot brigadier, La Mellionière, who had just arrived, was called in by Marlborough to arrange this compromise, which was then accepted. Those who know how many are the worries of a General in command will fully understand how vexatious and wearing this dispute must have been to Marlborough at the moment.

21, 5, 216 B.C.

It will thus be seen that it was only his calm good sense which saved the campaign from total shipwreck at its very outset. By his tact, even temper, and wisdom he removed one of those vexatious difficulties which so often arise when the claims of birth are suffered to weigh in the selection of men for military commands. The day after the compromise had been agreed to, Marlborough, who was in command, chose 'Wirtemburg' for 'the word,' and this graceful compliment soothed and flattered the vanity of the Prince, who evinced his appreciation by giving 'Marlborough' for 'the word' the day following. The good fellowship so begun quickly ripened into cordiality, and the ceremonious Duke was soon wise enough to realize that if the accident of birth had made him a Prince, genius had marked out Marlborough as a leader of men, as a great General with a head to plan, a heart to attempt, and a steadfast will and strong arm to perform. He never afterwards sought to assert his precedence over the man to whom by every just right he owed obedience, and with whom it was his good fortune to have the privilege of acting in concert.*

* Dalrymple, Part II., Book V., p. 43 of vol. iii.



To face p. 187, *Vol. II.*

PLAN OF CORK IN 1690.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE SURRENDER OF CORK.

Breaching battery armed—Garrison beats a parley, which comes to nothing—Storming parties ford the river—Duke of Grafton killed—The Governour surrenders—Disposition of the prisoners taken.

Of the besieging troops, the English occupied the southern suburb, with both flanks resting on the river—the left above the town, near Gill Abbey, and the right below it, near the Red Cow Inn; whilst the Danes, under Wirtemburg and Tettau, held the northern suburb, and closely invested the city on that side. There was some difficulty in finding food for the army, but Count Schravemor's cavalry, by means of raids upon the surrounding country, was able to carry off enough sheep and oxen for daily consumption. On September 26, when he crossed finally to the south of the river with 500 Horse, he brought with him a 'great prey of cattle,' which was most acceptable to the beef-loving English soldier. That same day the fleet, having landed all the guns and stores for the army, sailed from Cork, leaving a squadron behind under the Duke of Grafton to help in the siege.* $\frac{26}{6}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690.

Early on Saturday the heavy guns were brought up the river in boats from Passage, and landed near the Red Cow. This inn stood on what is now Union Quay, near $\frac{27}{7}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690.

* When the Duke of Grafton was wounded, the command devolved on Captain M. Tennant, who perished in the *Breda*, which blew up a few days afterwards.—Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals.'

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where Copley Street abuts upon the right bank of the South Channel, and almost opposite the south-east corner of Morrison's Island, and some 50 or 60 yards lower down the river than the old building known as Buckingham House, formerly the residence of the General commanding in Munster.* For the reception of two 24-pounder and three 18-pounder guns a battery was thrown up on the river-bank a little below the spot where they were landed, and from it a tolerably direct fire, at a range of 500 yards, was opened on the part of the eastern wall which it had been determined to breach. Throughout Saturday afternoon the battery played upon this spot, and the wall, exposed to its base, soon showed signs of coming down. The other batteries fired upon the city ramparts and on Fort Elizabeth, and, at the suggestion of the Dean, picked marksmen were placed on the top of the massive square tower of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral, which stood about 150 yards from the nearest bastion of the fort, and commanded the whole interior of the work.† Lieutenant Townsend was in charge of the party, and by means of planks placed over the beams of the upper storey he and his men constructed for themselves a platform, from which they opened upon the fort so galling a fire that the garrison turned two heavy guns against it. Their fire at close range so shook not only the tower,‡ but also the nerves of the sharpshooters, that they tried to escape from their exposed position; but their young commander would not listen to the proposal, and, calling to his comrades below, he ordered them to remove the ladders by which his party had mounted.

* I believe it was built by General Lord Blaney. It is now used as a charity school.

† To lessen the effect of the mortar fire on the city, the Governor had the street pavements ripped up. The Quaker Pike, in his account of the siege, says that some twelve or thirteen 'bombs' fell into the city.

‡ When this tower was taken down in 1865, upon the rebuilding of the cathedral, one of the 24-pounder shot was found embedded deep in its masonry. The shot now hangs in the south transept of the new building as a memento of the occurrence.

Retreat being thus cut off, they were compelled to remain at their post, and did most effective service until the city surrendered. Their searching fire killed many of the garrison of Fort Elizabeth, including Colonel O'Neil, the Commandant, who was hit when in the act of directing the guns in the south-west bastion.* Tradition says that the shot which killed him was fired by Lieutenant Townsend himself.

The fighting Dean now advised the diversion of the 'Dyke Stream,' which, entering the western city-wall about midway in its length, turned Droupe's grist-mill, which stood close to the site of the present Court-house. As the inhabitants depended principally upon this mill for their daily supply of flour, its stoppage was severely felt.

By four p.m. the gun and mortar-fire had told seriously on the defences of the city and on the spirits of its garrison. Before the attacking column could assault the breach, it must first ford the river and then cross the Eastern Marsh, but the tide was still sufficiently low to admit of this movement being carried out; in fine, the Governour, thinking that the moment for surrender had arrived, released the Protestant Bishop from prison, and sent him into the English camp.† At the same time he sent an officer to General Schravemor's headquarters with the following letter, to arrange the terms of surrender:

'De Corke, Septbre 27, 1690.—Mons ,—Non obstant la resolution que j'ay de m'acquitter de mon devoir en gardant cette ville jusqu'à la dernière extremité comme je vous ay tesmoigné cy devant, et que rien na encore paru de vostre costé qui me puisse de tourner, neanmoins pour complaire au gré de quelqu'uns, et pour monstrer que je ne prens pas de telles resolutions sans avoir assez de raisons pour les soustenir. Je consenterai si vous voulez que deux de vostre

* Sir D. Cox, also Mr. R. Caulfield, a local historian of great knowledge. He was a friend of Mr. C. Woods, to whom I am much indebted for my description of this siege.

† The Bishop was Dr. E. Wetenhall. A good account of these transactions is given in the *London Gazette* of October 6, No. 2,598.

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costé entrent dans la ville et autant de nostres aillent vers vostre camp pour discouvrir l'affaire des deux parts, apres quois vous trouveres que je ne m'obstineray pas contre qui sera raisonable dautant que rien de tell nest attendre.—Mons^re^, votre tres humble Serv^t^, R. McELLEGOTT.

'Cependant qu'on cesse si vous voulez tout hostilité de deux costés.—A M^re^ de Scravenmore.'

The Governour was told in reply, that he must communicate with Lord Marlborough, who was in command that day, and Marlborough sent him word that he would only accept the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war, and that only on condition that Fort Elizabeth was handed over to him in the course of an hour, and the two gates of the city by eight a.m. on the following morning. Whilst this negotiation was going forward on the south side of the city, another envoy from the Governour had reached Wirtemburg's headquarters on the north. He was indiscreet enough to send back his reply without consulting Marlborough, and said that if the Irish garrison would lay down their arms the Governour might march out with the honours of war. He sent to inform General Schravemor of the answer he had made. Marlborough meantime was making every preparation for the passage of the river to the south-east of the city. The Governour, however, by cunningly availing himself of the supposed division of command between Marlborough, Wirtemburg, and Schravemor, and by delaying the return of the two English officers sent to treat with him, succeeded in so protracting the negotiations that before an advance could be attempted, the flowing tide had rendered the river unfordable. He thereupon 'sent word that he could not accept the capitulation offered by Marlborough, and so made a jest of us.'*

* A long letter from General Schravemor to Sir George Clarke, 'from the camp before Cork, September 29, 1690,' describes the taking of Cork. The text in a great measure follows his narrative.—Clarke Correspondence, Trin. Coll., Dublin.

The Duke of Wirtemburg was solely responsible for this ridiculous result, and for the consequent delay. It was a matter of supreme importance to Marlborough that Cork should fall without loss of time. The weather already showed signs of breaking, and only two or three weeks of fine weather at most could be counted on before the rains, fogs, and notorious unhealthiness of the Irish autumn would overtake them. In that short interval Kinsale also must be taken, if he was to fulfil his promise to Mary and her Council. He knew that Fort Charles, the citadel of Kinsale, was a strong modern work, well provided with casemates, and equipped with all the stores required to withstand a siege. Every hour by which the taking of Cork was delayed was a serious loss to him, and when he refused to accept the surrender of the city upon the easy terms which the Duke of Wirtemburg was prepared to concede, he must have been sure of his ability to take it by assault at low tide on the following day. He also hoped that a night's reflection would bring the Governour better counsel, and that, seeing the impossibility of further resistance, he might decide to surrender in the morning.

The Governour has been blamed for his ruse, and for his rejection of Marlborough's terms; but the accusation is surely unjust. Granted the hopelessness of relief from without, and his inability to withstand an assault, still, he knew that every additional hour's delay would make it more difficult for Marlborough to close the campaign by the capture of Kinsale before bad weather set in.

During the night some of the garrison endeavoured to escape by the Hammand and Western Marshes. But Marlborough had foreseen the probability of such an attempt, and had posted an officer's party in a brickyard near Gill Abbey to prevent it, and by them most of the Irish who tried to get away were either killed, wounded, or driven back into the city. There is reason to believe that had the Governour marched boldly out at midnight

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in that direction with all his garrison he might either have joined Berwick, or got off with little loss into the Kerry mountains.

Oct. 10, 1690.

At daybreak the next morning—it was Sunday—the besiegers' batteries resumed their fire, the breaching battery on the river bank below the city opening with redoubled energy. As the citizens listened to early Mass, the thunder of big guns and the spluttering of small arms must have grated harshly upon their ears, and they could almost hear the oaths of the English artillerymen who were working in the batteries without the walls. The heavy pieces pounded the breach, whilst the 'small ordnance' on Cat Fort swept the interior of the defences so closely that none of the garrison could show themselves near the breach. After some hours of battering the breach was reported to be fairly practicable, and every preparation was accordingly made to deliver the assault as soon as the ebbing tide should render the river fordable. It was high-water on that morning between eight and nine o'clock, and on the top of the tide T.M.S. *Salamander*, with another small sloop of war, came up the river, and, anchoring near the north-eastern angle of the city, opened a galling fire upon the walls near the breach, and shelled the town itself.

The plan of attack was as follows: About 1,000 of Wirtemburg's Danes were to ford the northern arm of the river to the marshy island where the new Custom-house had been lately built, and thence make their way across the Eastern Marshes to the breach.* At nearly the same time about 1,500 English Foot were to ford the river from the southern suburb to the island known as the Great Eastern or the Rape Marsh. The enemy held all these marshes with strong outposts protected by rough entrenchments. It was intended, if necessary, to transfer to this

* At high-water this little island was cut off from the Great Marsh by a tideway into which Droupe's mill-race emptied itself, but it was nearly dry at low tide. It has now been converted into St. Patrick Street.

Eastern Marsh some of the heavy guns brought up from the fleet, and with them to bring a close and direct fire upon the breach. It was dead low-water between two and three o'clock p.m.,* but shortly after one p.m. the tide had fallen sufficiently to allow the English assaulting column to ford the river. The Danes passed easily at noon over the northern branch of the river by a good ford, and drove in the Irish detached posts near the Custom-house, killing a captain and some of his men. Where the English crossed nearly an hour later under the command of Brigadier Charles Churchill, the water was still deep and up to the men's armpits. Their guide was Captain Greene, a respectable merchant of the city, who knew the locality well.† This column consisted of Churchill's (the Buffs), the grenadiers of Trelawney's (the Royal Lancaster), the Royal Fusiliers, Hastings' (the Somersetshire Light Infantry), and two other English battalions since disbanded. Their crossing-place was about 400 yards below the south-eastern bastion of the city. Somewhat higher up the river was another ford, but troops passing by it would have been too much exposed to musketry from the walls. After passing the main river there was yet another branch to be crossed, and although it was nearly dry at low water, it converted the southern portion of the Rape Marsh into a separate island when the tide was full.‡

$\frac{2}{3}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690.

The hostile feelings which animated both sides were neither of recent date nor of an ordinary nature; their mutual hatred, of centuries' standing, was bitter and intense. The Irish garrison was about to fight in defence of a celebrated Irish city, attacked by the swaggering

* The Astronomer Royal has most kindly furnished this information.

† At present the depth of the river here at low-water is four feet. Mr. Greene was pardoned for a technical offence in 1701, chiefly in consideration of the services he rendered as a guide upon this occasion. —See Harris's MSS., vol. x., p. 309, in Royal Dublin Society.

‡ This tideway was afterwards filled up, and is now the South Mall.

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Saxon soldiery who had been for ages their masters and oppressors; and to the old bitter hatred of race was added the rancour which springs from difference of creed, for the angry passions of the Celt had been long intensified by persistent efforts on the part of the English to destroy his religion. The Irish, though still smarting under the recollection of their disgraceful rout at Newtown-Butler and again at the Boyne, were at the same time elated by their more recent success in the defence of Limerick. Why should they not be successful in this instance also? Why should they be unable to resist the much smaller army now led against Cork? The garrison of Limerick had not indeed dared to pursue William's army during its retreat, and every thinking soldier knew that had it not been so late in the year, the siege would have been continued until the place fell. But whilst there was nothing in the raising of the siege or in the repulse of the assault that could be regarded as discreditable to the English, the failure filled them with a determination to wipe out its remembrance by a brilliant victory. The English soldier's hatred of the Irish was not the outcome of past reverses, though there were old scores to pay off for the massacres of 1641 and for the recent pillage and murder of many an English settler. It lay deeper than that. He looked upon the Irishman as a barbarian little better than a savage, and he despised him as a fighting man. Thus, there was no love lost between the two opposing forces, and as the English column swayed to and fro in passing the deep and muddy river, no man in its ranks for a moment doubted the result. The assault might cost many lives, but there was a rich town to be plundered, a hated garrison to be slain; and this was enough for the soldier of that period.

$\frac{28}{8}$–$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690.

As Marlborough watched his grenadier companies, who headed the assaulting column, plunge into the barely fordable river, under the gallant Lord Colchester, his blood must have tingled with suppressed excitement. With his fighting instincts, he naturally longed to draw sword also,

and lead his soldiers up the breach. None but those who in battle have been obliged, as responsible commanders, to stay behind, can realize the fulness of that misery. How dreadful are the words 'Go on!' to the man who longs to mingle in the fray, and shout 'Come on!' instead! He who has never known the ecstasy of reckless daring which takes possession of the soldier in a storming party knows not the most intense excitement of which the human mind and body working together are capable. But none who looked upon Marlborough's calm and handsome face could fathom what was passing in his brain, or could believe that his reputation as a leader was staked upon that issue. The whole pack of foreigners who surrounded William only waited for a sign of failure on his part to damn him for ever. How they would have gloated over his repulse, and, in the guttural accent of Friesland and of Schleswig, have exclaimed to William, 'I told you so; the English General is no good'!

The passage of the river presented a wild and striking picture, bright with varied colour and full of incident, as the young and reckless volunteers vied with one another and with the regular officers for a foremost place, each anxious to land first on the marsh beyond. The scarlet coats and picturesque costumes added much to the general effect, as the red Michaelmas sun glittered on steel breast or back piece. A gentle breeze from the sea gave motion to the feathers and streaming ribands of the broad-brimmed hats worn by the officers, whilst they held aloft their swords, pikes and pistols, to keep them from the water. Behind them, struggling manfully through the deep, muddy river, came the rank and file, each man with 'bullet in mouth,' ready for immediate use, and all holding well above their heads the snaphaunce muskets, pikes and grenades with which they were armed.* The bandoleers of the musketeers,

* The old matchlock did not 'cock,' as all small arms do now. The motion of pulling the trigger brought the burning match into contact with the powder in the pan. The snaphaunce was a flint musket,

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heavy with ammunition, and the smoking match of the grenadiers, were thus kept dry for the coming struggle at the breach. As this English column forced its way through the falling tide, there was around them on all sides a heavy splashing of shot upon the water. Although the range was short and the fire well sustained, the loss was small; but those who were struck down in that deep and, at the moment, swiftly-running tide, fell to rise no more.

With the leading companies were the Duke of Grafton, Lord O'Brien, Colonel Granville, and Captains Cornwall, Leighton, Fairborn, Nevill and many other volunteers in quest of fame and adventure. Once on the opposite bank, they quickly re-formed, and drove the enemy from their entrenched posts, taking immediate possession of them. The Duke of Grafton, upon reaching the marsh, was anxious to select a good position for the guns with which it was intended, if necessary, to open a still closer fire upon the breach, and whilst so engaged within about 140 yards of the breach, he was struck by a bullet in the shoulder.* Local tradition asserts that the shot was fired by a blacksmith from his forge in the slum still called Old Post Office Lane.† The spot where he fell, then a deep, open marsh, is now built over, but the remembrance of the event is perpetuated in the name Grafton Alley, given to the little street on the west side of which he fell, where Rockford's or Stable Lane joins it.‡ Covering the wounded

which derived its name from *schnappen*, 'to click,' as our gunlocks have done ever since in the act of cocking.

* General Schravemor's letter to Sir George Clarke.

† This forge was still standing in 1823. Mr. Robert Day, of Cork, an antiquary possessing a great knowledge of everything affecting his native city, has given me much valuable information on this subject.

‡ Mr. Cecil C. Woods writes to me on this subject from Cork: 'About the year 1860, on a summer's evening, I was walking with my father along the South Mall, Cork, and just at the end of Grafton Alley a venerable, intelligent-looking old man of the labouring class saluted my father, who stopped and spoke to him, and the talk some-

Duke with a cloak, the troops pushed boldly forward to the edge of the ditch, the water in which was shallow at that state of the tide. A high bank forming the counter-scarp, together with an old house under the wall itself, afforded shelter, under which they were enabled to rally and re-form after their rapid advance over the open. It was a matter of great moment that they should do so before their final rush across the ditch and up the breach. But about three p.m., as the soldiers were closing their ranks preparatory to the final rush, the garrison beat a parley, and the white flag was once more displayed upon the walls above. The thunder of the city guns ceased, and in an

how turning on "old times," the man said he would show my father and me the exact spot where the Duke of Grafton fell. Therefore we all went down the alley till we came to where Rocheford's Lane opens into it, and pointing to the corner where the south side of the lane and the west side of the alley meet, our guide said, "There it is!" He then told us how it was that he knew the spot. What he said made so great an impression on me that I have still an excellent recollection of it, and it was in substance, and indeed, I believe, nearly word for word, as follows: "My great-grandfather was a small but crabbit boy at the time of the siege of Cork, and when the soldiers tried to get into the city through the breach in the walls, he was watching them, and he took particular notice of the Duke of Grafton by reason of his being the King's son. When the Duke, who was leading on the soldiers, suddenly dropped down on the bog, my great-grandfather knew very well what had happened, and he and some more young fellows ran down from the Red Abbey, scrambled over the river, and stole up the bog to where the Duke lay with a cloak thrown over him on the identical spot where he had dropped down. Then the soldiers drove them away, and they ran back and over the river and home again, but before he left the bog my great-grandfather took a sure note of the exact spot where the Duke lay, and the next day he went to it and marked it, and he never after forgot it, but kept an account of it, no matter what changes happened. I often heard him tell about all that he saw when the Duke was shot, and when I was old enough to go about with him he took me with him, and showed me with the greatest possible care where the Duke fell, and I took a sure note of it then, and I have kept an account of it ever since, and there it is." As to the old man's credibility, I can only say that my father knew him well and believed him, and that I have never known anyone less gullible than my father.'

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instant there was a death-like silence where, but the moment before, all was noise and confusion. The stormers under the walls seemed as if struck dumb at the sight of that white flag. Visions of plunder, which a moment before had filled their heads, vanished before the emblem of surrender, and the bloodthirsty soldier, intent on fighting, felt that he had sharpened his pike and sword to no purpose when the 'rouse' had sounded that morning. As besieged and besiegers glared at one another across the city ditch, the Earl of Tyrone and Colonel Rycat came out, white flag in hand, picking their steps over the rough masses of crumbling masonry which strewed the breach.* They said they had been sent by the Governour to treat with Marlborough for the surrender of the place. They claimed to march out with all the honours of war, with drums beating, colours flying, and men with 'ball in mouth'—that is, upon the terms which Wirtemburg had been prepared to give them the day before. But the English General would listen to no such proposals, and even Wirtemburg agreed that they must submit as prisoners of war. Unable to resist further, they surrendered, and to mark his displeasure at the trick played the evening before, Marlborough imposed severer terms than he had offered the previous day. That evening Fort Elizabeth was evacuated by the Irish and occupied by 200 English soldiers. General Schravemor, in his report, describes it as, 'On my word, almost impregnable!'† All the Protestant clergy and about 1,300 Protestant citizens were at once released from the churches and prisons, where the Governour had kept them.‡ There were only two Protestant churches within the walls, Christ's and St. Peter's. The former,

$\frac{28}{8}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690.

* Colonel Rycat was sent a prisoner to the Tower, and escaped from it, to be recaptured later on.—See Luttrell's Diary.

† Clarke Papers.

‡ The Governour had not imprisoned the Quakers, of whom there were then many in Cork. They went about dreading an assault, lest they, being at liberty, should be put to the sword with the garrison, for all the Protestants of the city had been imprisoned.

being near the breach, suffered much from the fire of the English batteries, and from the Irish, who stripped its steeple of lead to make into bullets, and used its pavement to mend and strengthen the wall where it was breached.*

During the night 'many seamen and other loose persons' entered the city through the breach, and began to plunder, especially the houses of the Roman Catholics.† The next morning—Michaelmas Day—Churchill's regiment, having spent the night near the breach, entered the town at daybreak, and as soon as the south bridge was repaired, Marlborough, with Hale's regiment, entered the city, and exerted himself to the utmost to stop these irregularities, to save the place from further damage, and to restore order. In the evening all returned to their camps outside the city, except Hale's regiment, which was detailed to form the new garrison of Cork. $\frac{29}{9}$-$\frac{9}{10}$. 1690.

In the afternoon the Catholics were commanded by proclamation to deliver up their arms, and the Irish soldiers were ordered, under pain of death, to repair to the Eastern Marshes. There the seven regiments, numbering about 5,000 men of all ranks,‡ which constituted the garrison, were disarmed and placed under strong guards, and their officers—about 350 in number—lodged in the Court-house, churches, gaols and other public buildings. Amongst the men of distinction taken prisoners were the Earl of Tyrone and Lord Clancarty.§ The surrender of this garrison to a besieging force not more than double its strength was far from creditable. The place was weak, but the defence was extremely poor, and betokened a feeble Governour,

* 'Historical and Descriptive Notices of Cork,' etc., by J. Windele; Longman and Co., 1840.

† Story's 'Wars in Ireland,' Part I., p. 143; Davies, whose journal I presume Story had access to.

‡ Harris's 'Life of William III.,' p. 292.

§ At the age of fifteen Lord Clancarty had been married to Lord Sunderland's daughter, a child of eleven. Sent to the Tower, he escaped after an imprisonment of three years to claim the wife he had not seen since childhood.

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ignorant of war, and a garrison lamentably wanting in resolution and spirit.

Many of the prisoners made their escape, and some were killed in trying to effect it. About 1,000 Irish soldiers were sent as prisoners to England, and 26 officers and 160 privates perished in the *Breda*, a fine third-rate of 70 guns, which caught fire and blew up in Cork Harbour.* An Irish officer named Barret was suspected of having fired the train, as he and his servant were amongst the few who escaped. The military chest went down in her, and so great was the dearth of money that, in order to pay for supplies, Marlborough was obliged to take £800 from the money in the hands of the Collector of Customs.†

$\frac{29}{9}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690. In the following letter Marlborough gives an official report of the surrender of Cork: 'My L^{d}, I last night sent Captain Butler to Milford to give his Majestie an account of the taking of this Place, I send this by the way of Ruthin for fear of contrary winds: the inclosed is the capittulation, and the Naimes of the Regiments, that are Prisoners of Warre. I think to send the Officers of Quallity on board the ffleet till his Majistes pleasure be known, the officer that comanded the Party that I sent yesterday to Kingsale has just now sent me word that the town being sumoned gave them the possession of the gaites, but that the fortes near resolved to defend themselves, I pray God blesse us with good weather, and I doe not doute of success, I march to-moroe morning, I am with respect, my L^{d}, your obedient humble servant, MARLEBOROUGH.'‡

* Her captain, M. Tennant, then in command of the squadron, and most of her crew, which numbered 450 men, perished in her (Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals'). This accident occurred 12, 10, 1690.

† Treasury Papers, vol. xv., p. 188, and letter from Lords Justices of Ireland, stating the amount so taken by Marlborough from the Customs.

‡ The date is written in a more recent hand in pencil: '29th Septr., 1690, recd. 9th October, 1690.' Domestic Papers of William and Mary, No. 3, 1690-91, Rolls House.

The Duke of Grafton died of his wound in eleven days. During his last moments he said, 'I die contented, but I should be more satisfied to die were I leaving my country happier and in a more tranquil state.' He was brave and straightforward, and by far the best of Charles II.'s illegitimate offspring. More fortunate than his brothers, he died in the field for his country, which none of the others either could or would serve well.* Anxious to prove by reckless daring the injustice of the suspicion under which he lay,† he fell like an English gentleman in front of those he led.

Thus fell the city of Cork one week exactly after Marlborough's fleet first anchored off the place. The English loss was under fifty killed, and the number of wounded was small.‡ To defend Cork, as the Irish Governour strove to do, without holding the high ground in its

* His body was embalmed, sent to England in a cask of spirits, and buried at Euston. Mr. C. C. Woods informs me that his brain and entrails were buried in the little old graveyard of Ballintemple, near Cork. His mother was the depraved Duchess of Cleveland. He was born $\frac{30}{10}$-$\frac{10}{11}$, 1663, and he died $\frac{9}{15}$ 10, 1690. He married the daughter and heiress of Henry Bennet, the Arlington of the Cabal. The following equivocal epitaph was sung in the streets of London when the news of his death reached England:

'He n'ere would dred
Shot made of lead,
Or cannon ball
Or nothing at all.
Yet a bullet from Cork,
It did its work.
Unhappy pellet,
With a grief I tell it,
It has undone
Great Cæsar's son!
A statesman spoiled,
A soldier foiled.
God rot him
Whoever shot him.
Here lies Henry Duke of Grafton.'

† See *ante*, p. 159.

‡ *London Gazette*, No. 2,598, and 'Villare Hibernicum.'

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immediate vicinity was impossible, and, from the small amount of powder found in the place, it is evident that Macgillicuddy could not possibly have sustained a lengthened siege.* The fall of Cork after so short a siege had a depressing effect upon the Irish garrison of Limerick, and shook their confidence.

On the last day of September William and Mary were duly proclaimed in Cork as King and Queen, and there were great rejoicings amongst the Protestant minority in and near Cork at the recapture of the city. The dispossessed Protestant magistrates were reinstated, and the old system of government was re-established under a Protestant Mayor and a Protestant Common Council. No Roman Catholic was allowed to serve the King or to have any voice in the management of public affairs; and thus was the seed of race hatred resown, to spring up later on, and to grow and ripen into a rich harvest of mutual detestation and rebellion.

$\frac{20}{30}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690.

Tuesday $\frac{14}{24}$ 10, 1690.

The newly-appointed Mayor and municipal authorities, wishing to honour the General who had done so much for them and for the English settlers in the county, at one of their earliest meetings ordered that 'my Lord Marlborough and the new Governour of Cork † be presented with the freedome of this citty in silver boxes.' No mention of any kind is made of the Duke of Wirtemburg's services or of his claim to command the army.‡ A fortnight later the Common Council passed the following resolution: 'It is thought fit in order that so great a mercy may never be forgotten, that the 29th September, being the day the army of their Majesties King William and Queen Mary entered the city, be kept as an anniversary thanksgiving to

$\frac{1}{1}$ 10, 1690.

* Harris says there were only two small barrels of powder and a 'hundred of ball' found in the place when it capitulated. See also Schravemor's report of the siege, from which Harris probably obtained his information. Clarke Correspondence.

† Colonel Hales.

‡ City of Cork Council Book.

Almighty God for the said deliverance.'* For about a century, Michaelmas was accordingly kept as a day of public rejoicing and thanksgiving by the Protestants of Cork.† Fortunate would it have been for Ireland had the discontinuance of this ceremony, now entirely forgotten, marked the extinction of the old ill-feeling on the part of the Cork Roman Catholics towards England and towards their Protestant fellow-citizens.

The townspeople and the English garrison suffered severely during the following winter from want of provisions, and from disease, the result of privations. The soldiers were neglected disgracefully by the authorities in London, and died by hundreds; neither money, clothing, stores, provisions, nor medicines were sent them, everything being reserved for the troops intended to fight under William in Holland. William's foreign Generals had not been over-successful in Ireland, and Marlborough's victory was, therefore, all the more acceptable to the jealous English people. There were, however, many Jacobites who sneered at the affair, because it had been so quickly accomplished and with so little loss. The Tory Poet Laureate refers to it thus in the prologue he wrote for 'The Mistakes':‡

> 'Our young poet has brought out a piece of work,
> In which, tho' much of art there does not lurk,
> It may hold out three days, and that's as long as Cork.'

* Caulfield's 'Council Book of Cork City.'

† Mr. C. C. Woods has supplied me with the following extract from the *Hibernian Chronicle* of Thursday, October 1, 1772: 'Tuesday, Michaelmas Day, being the anniversary of the surrender of Cork to King William, the same was observed as a day of rejoicing.'

‡ 'The Mistakes' was written in 1690 by the comedian Joseph Harris. See vol. x., p. 410, Scott's Dryden.

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THE INVESTMENT OF KINSALE.

Marlborough sends on his cavalry to invest Kinsale—Description of the town and its defences — Marlborough reconnoitres the place and finds it to be much stronger than he had expected.

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MARLBOROUGH was well aware that with an open breach Cork could not hold out for many hours. He knew how limited were the Governour's resources, and from the negotiations of Saturday he must have been as sure, as men can be of anything in war, that the place would fall into his hands some time on Sunday. His Horse and Dragoons took no active part in the siege; they were available for other work, and might and ought to have been held in readiness throughout Sunday to start for Kinsale at a moment's notice. As soon as Colonel Macgillicuddy surrendered they should have marched without delay to summon Kinsale, before the news of the fall of Cork had reached that place. The distance was only seventeen and a half miles, and before daybreak on Monday the town ought to have been in Marlborough's possession, and the two forts invested by his cavalry. A large number of prisoners had to be dealt with at Cork, and it can easily be understood that he himself, with the bulk of the Foot, was unable to start before Wednesday; yet this does not seem a sufficient reason for the delay which took place in the despatch of his mounted troops. At that late season of the year it was of great importance to obtain shelter for his men in the houses of Kinsale during the coming siege. Every

$\frac{24}{25}$-$\frac{26}{27}$, 1690.

hour that the march was delayed increased the chances of the enemy burning the place and retiring into the forts, thus depriving Marlborough of the cover for his men which he reckoned upon obtaining.

It was not until Monday that some 300 Horse and 100 Dragoons, under Colonel Neuhansel, were despatched to Kinsale with orders to use every endeavour to save and occupy the town. The line of march lay in a due southerly direction, over bad roads which heavy rain had already made difficult for troops; their progress consequently was slow, the weather was cold, and provisions were extremely scarce. Many of the men were sickly; for although the work at Cork had not been severe, yet numbers were already unfit for duty. They reached the neighbourhood of Kinsale about two p.m., and at once sent forward a trumpeter to formally summon the Governour, Colonel Sir Edward Scott, who was then in the New Fort. As Neuhansel could not speak English, Brigadier Villiers was sent to parley with him.* Easy terms were offered if the place were surrendered forthwith, but the Governour was assured that he would 'certainly be hanged for resisting a victorious army in case he stood till cannon were brought before the walls.' The only answer was a haughty threat to hang the trumpeter who had dared to bring so insolent a message.†

$\frac{2}{12}$-$\frac{9}{19}$, 1690.

* Letter from Count Schravemor to Sir George Clarke: MS. Clarke Correspondence, Trinity College, Dublin.

† The terms offered in accordance with Marlborough's orders were: '1st. Officers and soldiers to march out without arms, only the officers to march away with their swords. 2nd. Officers to march out with their own horses and baggage, but to carry away nothing belonging to the inhabitants. 3rd. The Governour to give a faithful account of the magazines of war, provisions, etc., in these places. 4th. The gates of the forts and town to be delivered to such forces as the Earl of Marlborough shall send to demand. 5th. The garrison and Catholic inhabitants shall have safe conduct to some place of security; no injury shall be done them in passing thither. 6th. The ships and prizes in port shall be faithful to . . . I shall send to demand the said garrisons in the condition they shall be found when the said garrisons are demanded.' (I presume he meant summoned.) From a MS. by Mr. Caulfield, in possession of Mr. R. Day, of Cork.

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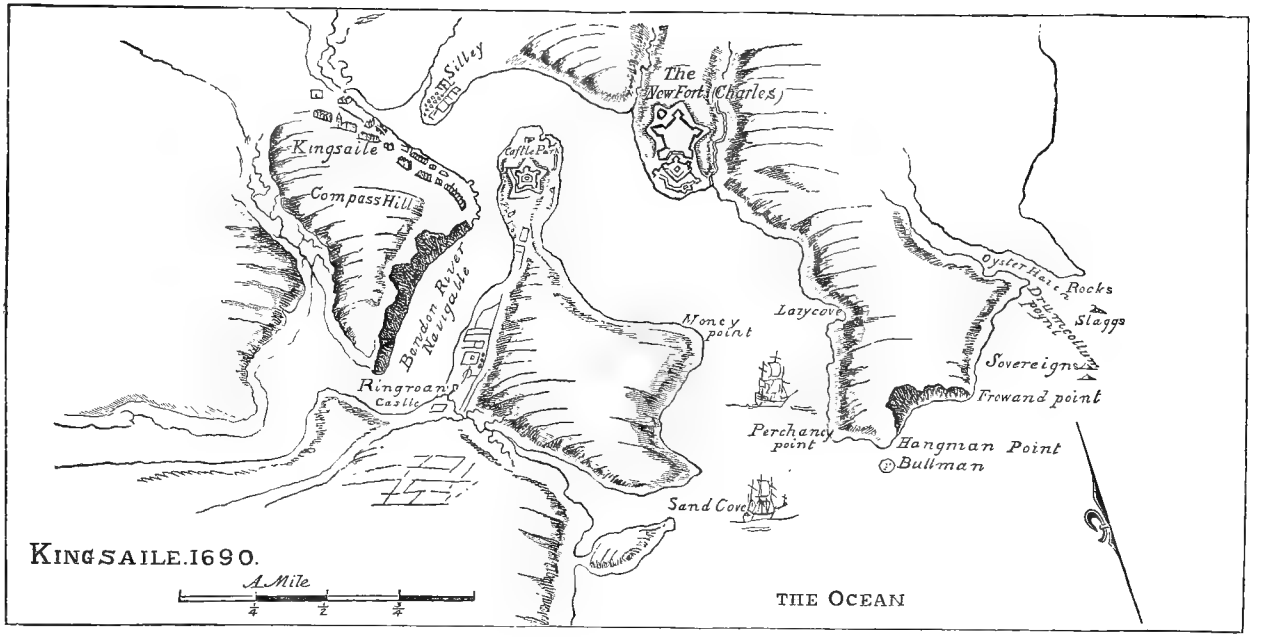
Scott had been ordered to fire the town and to confine his defence to the two forts; but though he had postponed the burning in mercy to the unfortunate inhabitants, he had made every arrangement for a general conflagration upon the first alarm. Great bundles of faggots were piled in the streets against the houses, to be ignited as soon as the English came in sight. But his orders on this point were so carelessly carried out that Villiers was allowed to get close to the town before the faggots were kindled, and by a rapid charge into the streets his horsemen were able to extinguish the flames. A few Irish soldiers, who had remained to plunder, were either killed or taken prisoners, the rest escaping to the forts. This easy capture of the town had an important bearing upon the subsequent operations, for it enabled Marlborough to place his men under cover during the siege of Fort Charles. It is doubtful if the army could have remained long enough under canvas at that time of year to take the place. Even with the shelter of the town many of the besiegers died, and the proportion of sick was very great. 'An advanced season in the field is always fatal to foreigners in Ireland,'* and 'the usual mortality which attended new bodys in that country was well known.'†

Marlborough's information regarding the strength of the works at Kinsale had been misleading, for he said afterwards that he would not have gone there so late in the year had he known the true state and strength of Fort Charles.‡ The garrison had, however, been seriously weakened by the despatch of two regiments to reinforce Cork against the English attack. Neuhansel and Villiers having possessed themselves of the town, summoned the Old Fort to surrender, but its commander, O'Sullivan-More, replied that he would hold it to the last man. He fired his guns

* General Keating.

† This statement is by Dr. R. Gorge, Schomberg's Secretary, and is in a paper now in the Rolls House.

‡ Burnet, vol. ii., p. 60.



To face p. 207, Vol. II.

PLAN OF KINGSAILE IN 1690.

and 'hung out a bloody flag' in defiance, and Sir Edward Scott, on the opposite side of the harbour in the New Fort, did the same. In reporting his proceedings to Marlborough, Villiers said that with the guns found in the town, and an immediate reinforcement of three regiments of Foot and some two or three extra guns, he would be in a position to take the Old Fort.* CHAPTER LXVI. 1690.

On the following morning the troops and guns which he asked for were despatched from Cork, but the roads were so heavy that they were obliged to halt for the night at Five Mile Bridge, and only reached Kinsale the day after. His arrangements for the safety of Cork having been completed, Marlborough started on Wednesday with the remainder of his army. He also halted for the night at Five Mile Bridge, and arriving before Kinsale on Thursday forenoon, he at once closely invested the New Fort. The old house in which King James had passed the night after landing at Kinsale is still standing, and tradition says that it was Marlborough's headquarters during the siege. $\frac{29}{10}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1690. $\frac{1}{10}$, 10, 1690. $\frac{2}{12}$, 10, 1690.

Kinsale, which is one of the oldest corporate towns in Ireland, occupies a commanding position on the left bank of the Bandon River, where that picturesque stream flows into the sea. Although mean and insignificant in size, its geographical position and the possession of what was then considered an admirable harbour, caused it to be regarded for centuries as a seaport of the first importance.† Cork, indeed, was commonly known as 'Cork, near Kinsale.' A ship making for the mouth of the Bandon River leaves on its port side the Old Head of Kinsale, a wild, rugged and sea-beaten rocky promontory, which juts out into the Atlantic at six miles' distance from the harbour. The entrance was

* 'Villare Hibernicum.'

† Caulfield's 'Council Book of Kinsale.' The Rev. A. Allyn, in his diary, says Kinsale 'contains nothing good in it, besides honest Parson Tomms.' In October, 1601, Don John d'Aquila landed at Kinsale to help the Irish against Queen Elizabeth. He was besieged there by Lord Mountjoy, to whom the place fell 9, 1, 1602.

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defended by two permanent works, one commonly known as the 'Old,' the other as the 'New Fort.' The former, whose ancient name was Castle-Ny-Fort, stood upon the high, narrow headland which, running out due north from the mainland, there forms the right bank of the Bandon River. The river makes a great loop round the isthmus, and two centuries ago added greatly to the natural strength of the old work. A ship entering the harbour would have this fort on the left, that is, to the westward; and to the eastward, on the right, Fort Charles, or the New Fort.* Fort Charles was strong in comparison with other fortified places in Ireland, and was armed with a hundred brass guns, ranging from 24 to 42 pounders. Placed about 100 feet above the sea-level, its guns had complete command over the mouth of the harbour. A mile further westward was the small and dirty city of Kinsale, its streets reeking of sprats and herrings, the staple articles of the local trade.

After a careful reconnaissance of the forts, Marlborough was surprised to find that the place was much stronger and the works in much better order than he had been led to expect. With an Irish winter at hand, sickness rife in his small polyglot army and the daily increasing difficulty in finding subsistence, it was not unnatural that he should inwardly repent of his promise to the Queen in Council as to the capture of the place. His siege train was still at Cork, and the roads over which it must come were already barely passable for heavily laden carriages.

* 'Macariæ Excidium,' Camden Society Papers, p. 128. 'Ancient and Present State of County and City of Cork,' by C. Smith. Fort Charles was begun in 1678, and finished in three years, at a cost of £73,000.

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KINSALE SURRENDERS.

The Old Fort assaulted and taken — Marlborough summons Fort Charles—Its Governour refuses to surrender—Great delay in getting up the breaching-guns owing to bad weather—The garrison surrenders—Brigadier C. Churchill left as Governour, and Marlborough returns to England—Is well received at Court—Sufferings of the English troops during the winter—Conduct of Wolseley's Horse.

A CLOSE reconnaissance of the place made it clear to Marlborough that Fort Charles could only be taken by a regular siege, but it was equally clear that no siege was possible until his guns and stores arrived from Cork. In the meantime, the Old Fort might, he thought, be taken at once by open assault, if well pushed home at daybreak, but the success of such a daring attempt would depend upon its being a surprise. Deserters and the townspeople reported the garrison to consist of only 150 men. The works were in bad repair and obsolete in design, and Marlborough ascertained that one point at least was weak and open to a bold and sudden rush. If the Old Fort should fall, it was thought that its capture might possibly incline the Governor of Fort Charles to accept the easy terms which Marlborough was now prepared to offer.

But our General found himself in no enviable position. It was difficult to say when the siege train could be brought up: the cold weather had already set in, and the shortening days warned him that despatch was necessary if he was to fulfil his engagement to take Kinsale before the winter

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began. In days of steam the siege-train would certainly have been sent from Cork by sea, and Marlborough's intention was to have done so then, but contrary winds detained the ships in Cork. He was consequently forced to send it by land; this entailed much delay, owing to the extremely bad state of the roads.*

To secure rest and winter quarters for his suffering troops, Marlborough was prepared to run more than ordinary risks. The open assault of the Old Fort might not succeed, and could not fail to entail heavy loss of life; but, on the other hand, he might lose still more heavily by disease if he awaited the slow result of a regular siege. The question which he had to consider was one which often falls to the lot of a commander. These questions frequently involve calculations affecting the lives of hundreds, perhaps of thousands, and even at times the safety of a whole army and the fighting reputation of a nation. More than a century and a half afterwards another English commander as brave as Marlborough, but of a different mental calibre, had to solve a similar question on the steppes of the Crimea.

To approach the Old Fort by land would entail a night march of more than seven miles over bad and difficult roads so open to the enemy that surprise was out of the question, whereas the troops destined for the assault might be easily ferried over the river, above the town, without the enemy's knowledge. The Irish left undestroyed a large number of small craft, of which Marlborough at once took possession. His plan was to embark some 800 men in these boats during the night at a point he had selected about a mile above the town, where there was no likelihood of their being observed, the crossing to be timed so that they might reach the Old Fort about daybreak. He selected Brigadier Tettau for the command of the operation, with Colonel Fitzpatrick as second under him.

* 'Nouvelles de la prise du Nouvelle Fort de Kingsale.' British Museum.

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It was nearly low-water when the boats laden with soldiers pushed off in the dark, so that there was but little current, and the passage was quickly effected. The men landed noiselessly near the ruins of Kingroan Castle, about three-quarters of a mile south of the Old Fort, and advanced rapidly without attracting the enemy's attention. Shortly after the first streak of dawn had shown itself in the eastern horizon, Tettau was upon his enemy, giving him no time to recover from the surprise. Attracting their attention by a false attack on a part of the work known to be the weakest, where a blow was most expected and most prepared for, he made an assault upon one of the strong bastions with a detachment of his best troops. At the critical moment an accidental explosion of some gunpowder near one of the gates killed between forty and fifty of the Irish garrison, adding much to the general confusion and dismay. In the panic so caused the defenders rushed for the old masonry keep in the middle of the fort, losing about half their numbers in doing so. The Governour, Colonel O'Driscoll, and a number of other officers were killed on the ramparts, and many were shot in trying to escape by water to Fort Charles on the opposite side of the harbour. The tide being against them, only two boats succeeded in getting across. In all, about 220 of the garrison were killed; the remainder (over 200 in number), who had taken refuge in the castle, surrendered as prisoners of war, and 'our soldiers got a great deal of plunder.'* The capture of the Old Fort was a brilliant achievement well planned and boldly carried out, but it is doubtful whether it would have been attempted had the real strength of the garrison been known. In the hope that its fall might induce the defenders of Fort Charles to surrender, Marlborough again summoned that work. Sir E. Scott, a brave man, in no way daunted by the loss just sustained, sent back the jocular answer, 'It would be time enough to capitulate a month hence'—

Aug. 10, 1690.

* *London Gazette*, No. 2,601, 1690.

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no cheering prospect for the English troops in the month of October.

In the harbour were three ships laden with goods for France, which at once got under way; one was taken, the other two escaped. Trenches were opened within carbine shot of Fort Charles the same evening, and Marlborough decided upon making two attacks upon it—the English on the right to the north, and the Danes, under the Duke of Wirtemburg, on the left, to the east of the place.* By the 7th the approaches had reached within pistol-shot of the counterscarp, and breaching batteries were begun.† The following letters from Lord Marlborough describe his position and prospects at the time:

Oct. 10, 1690.

'My L^d,—The reason your Lordshipe dose not hear oftner from me, is that the passage betwine this and Dublin is yett soe difficulte, that I doe not much caer to writt often that way. If I had not bene very much disapointed by the Canon, I should have by this time have bene nier master of this place, which now we must have patience for on eight days longer, for the Canon will not be here till to-moroe, and then you may be ashured that ther shall be noe time lost, for ther is noe greatt pleasure in Lyeing in the field in such weather as this is; the enimes horse is advanced to a place called Macrom twelfe milles from hence, wher thay expect Sarsfield with their Foot, if thay com we shall be redy to receive them; I can not but lett your Lordshipe know that I think itt would be very much for his majistes service, if ther wear some monys sent to Corke and Kingsale soe that the garisons mought pay for what thay take, by which the contry would be preserved. And without itt will be destroyed, for I nied not tell your Lordshipe that we have littell or noe monys. I have bene forced to boroe what monys I could, to incorige, and pay, soe that the king's service mought goe on, all the shifts I could make is now att an end, however I doe not doute but in on eight

* MS., British Museum, No. 29,878.

† *London Gazette*, No. 2,602, 1690.

days more the King will be master of this place, which is quite another thing then has bene represented, I am with truth, my L[d], etc.

'I send you a letter I recived last night from Mon[sr] de Genkle, which I desier you will show the king, soe that his majiste may see they think itt necessarie to have some ships this Winter in the mouth of the Shanon, etc., etc., MARLBOROUGH.*

'From the Camp before Kinsale, 8 Oct., 1690.—It is not want of kindness that I have not constantly written to you, but in writing mine to Mons. de Ginkle in English I know you must see them, so that I look on it as if I wrote to you. We have been very much disappointed by the Canon, but to-morrow I hope to have them, and then I shall lose no time in pressing this place.—I am, etc., etc., MARLBOROUGH.†

'For Mr. Clarke, Secretary at War.'

Wet weather greatly retarded the siege works, but the counterscarp was crowned on the 9th, and on the 11th the long-expected guns arrived. Six of them were mounted the following day in the Danish, and two mortars in the English attack. A heavy fire was kept up all day, and the mortars continued to throw shells all night. The next day two 24-pounders opened fire from the English batteries, and on the day after, the remainder of the siege-train having arrived, three more were added. The English miners had been some days at work, and a mine was now sprung with good effect, and the miners were hard at work upon another.‡ On the same night the Danes, having effected a tolerable breach, made a false attack to disturb and annoy the garrison.

$\frac{9}{19}$ 10, 1690.

$\frac{12}{22}$ 10, 1690.

$\frac{13}{23}$ 10, 1690.

$\frac{14}{24}$ 10, 1690.

A letter of this date from a Dutch officer gives an interesting account of the siege. For three days, he says,

* Rolls Office: Domestic Papers, Ireland, No. 367; endorsed 'E. of Marlborough, Oct. 8, Rec. 23, 90.'

† Clarke Correspondence, Trinity College, Dublin.

‡ 'A True and Impartial Account of the most Material Occurrences in the Kingdom of Ireland during the Two Last Years, etc., etc. By an eye-witness. London, 1691.'

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eight guns and two mortars had fired upon the place, and six more were to open from the English part of the trenches on the following morning. The soldiers had already begun to suffer from cold and fatigue, but it was hoped that the breach would be practicable in a couple of days. Two days later Ginkel reports that the Irish near Limerick are not likely to attempt anything towards either Cork or Kinsale, as the rivers are so swollen that military operations are out of the question.*

$\frac{16}{26}$ 10, 1690.

$\frac{15}{25}$ 10, 1690.

On Wednesday all the batteries kept up a continuous fire, and preparations were being made for pushing covered galleries over the ditch and for an early general assault, when at one p.m. the Governour beat a parley and demanded terms. The weather was growing worse every day, Marlborough's army was daily becoming more sickly, and disease had already carried off a considerable number of his men. It was a matter of the greatest importance to give the troops rest in winter quarters, and to send back all that could be spared to England. He therefore granted the garrison better terms than he had given to the garrison of Cork, and he acted wisely in doing so. The negotiations occupied several hours, but the articles of surrender were signed by midnight.† The garrison of about 1,200 men were to march out on the following morning with their arms and baggage and all the honours of war, and were to be conducted safely to Limerick. The middle bastion was to be delivered up early the next morning to the English, as a guarantee of good faith. Marlborough's object in sending the garrison to Limerick was to increase the difficulties of the enemy there. He knew that the Irish garrison in Limerick was already pressed for room and very badly off for supplies of all sorts.‡

$\frac{15}{25}$ 10, 1690.

* Clarke MS. Correspondence, in Trinity College, Dublin.

† The original document, signed by Marlborough and by Sir E. Scott, is in vol. xv. of the Coxe Papers in the British Museum.

‡ 'Nouvelles de la prise du Nouvelle Fort de Kingsale,' in the British Museum.

Besides a hundred guns, supplies of wheat, salt beef, claret, and other provisions, sufficient for 1,000 men for one year, were found in the place. The English loss was about 250 killed and wounded, but many more died of disease, and the hospitals were crowded with sick.

Colonel O'Donovan delivered the keys of the fort into Marlborough's hands, and the Irish garrison marched for Limerick. Lady Scott, the Governour's wife, as a matter of bravado, when leaving the place had her carriage driven over the breach. $\frac{16}{26}$ 10, 1690.

During the operations at Kinsale the enemy made no real attempt to raise the siege, although at one time they assembled as if with that object. They, however, laid waste the country far and near, and burned and destroyed the houses and property of all Protestants and English settlers in the adjoining counties. $\frac{18}{28}$ 10, 1690.

Marlborough left his brother, Brigadier Charles Churchill, as Governour of the place, and distributed his army for the winter between Cork, Kinsale, Bandon and other neighbouring towns. He embarked in the *Lenox* man-of-war with Lord Colchester and others, and anchored in the Downs nine days afterwards. Landing at Deal, he proceeded direct to Kensington, where he was most graciously received by the King and warmly congratulated upon his signal success. This short and fruitful campaign added largely to his reputation with the English people, and raised him considerably in William's estimation. It elicited from this silent and unemotional monarch the great compliment, 'that he knew no man so fit for a General who had seen so few campaigns.' William seems to have attached undue weight to the value of long experience and practice in the art of war for a General commanding in the field. The careers of the King and Marlborough prove how mistaken he was in this idea. No man of his day had studied the science of war more deeply and attentively than William had done, and few of his contemporaries had commanded in so many campaigns. Nevertheless, as $\frac{28}{7}$-$\frac{10}{11}$, 1690.

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a General he was a failure; whereas Marlborough, upon whose inexperience he had commented, was invariably successful. It is a curious fact that few great leaders of armies have improved in their strategy as they gained experience. Napoleon never outdid his first Italian campaign in brilliancy of conception. But he, like Marlborough, was gifted with the natural genius for war in which William was deficient, and the deficiency is one which no amount of either study or practice can ever supply.

In twenty-three days Marlborough had achieved more than all William's Dutch commanders had done both in Ireland and abroad during the whole of the previous year. Genius coupled with an active imagination—as true military genius must ever be, and the like of which never seems to have inspired the slow minds of William or any of his foreign officers—marked the expedition to Cork. Had any of these commanded this army, the attacks upon both Cork and Kinsale would without doubt have been by long regular sieges according to the approved Continental methods, and the expedition would, almost certainly, have ended in failure owing to the lateness of the season.

Lord Marlborough was justly proud of having kept his word to the Queen, 'but secretely indignant that it was not put oftener to the test.'* Had he been vain, his head might well have been turned by the acclamations with which he was everywhere greeted on his return to England. But conceit found no place in his well-balanced mind. At the same time he still felt acutely the preference shown by William for his Dutch officers, and resented the favours, decorations, titles and fortunes which were lavished upon dull men like young Schomberg, Bentinck, Ginkel, Galway and Solmes. His great success served to obliterate the recollection of William's repulse at Limerick. It raised the courage of the English people, and their confidence in themselves. in their soldiers, and above all in their own

* Dalrymple, vol. iii., p. 44.

officers, and called forth a burst of loyal feeling the like of which had been unknown since the Revolution.

The fall of Cork and Kinsale had an important bearing upon the following year's campaign in Ireland, especially upon the taking of Limerick, as their capture cut off the entire southern coast of Ireland from communication with France in the same way that the victory at the Boyne had severed it with the east coast. All things considered, this campaign of Marlborough's was the best-planned and the neatest, as well as the most successful, military operation in William's reign.*

It was the one redeeming event in what are commonly known as the Williamite wars in Ireland. William's troops had won the battles of Newtown-Butler and the Boyne, and the following year they were successful at Aughrim, but as a war it was badly planned from the first, and was full of disasters, for all of which William was mainly responsible. Londonderry nearly fell through his supineness in not sending troops to relieve it, and because he chose to send abroad into an unimportant theatre of operations the regiments he ought to have sent to the North of Ireland. His failure before Limerick makes us compare his generalship with that of Marlborough, and with the operations of Cromwell in his conquest of Ireland in 1649-50.

Although Sir E. Scott had shown courage in his defence of Fort Charles, he was much to blame in not having secured the Old Fort against an open assault. With the garrison under his command and the help of the townspeople, he ought to have greatly strengthened both those works. Had he done so, and burnt the town, Marlborough would probably have been compelled to raise the siege. James, his French military advisers, and Berwick, who then commanded for him in Ireland, all showed great ignorance of war by their neglect of the defences of Kinsale, then commonly styled 'the Key of Ireland.' It was a harbour which became of vital importance to their

* Campbell's 'Naval History,' vol. ii., p. 430.

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cause when Waterford was taken after the battle of the Boyne. To render Cork secure, extensive works on the high ground outside the city would have been necessary, and for them guns and ammunition may not have been available. Not so, however, at Kinsale; where the existing works were good, while their positions were excellent and their armament ample. It would seem as if the same fatality hung over James's military affairs in Ireland as over every political move he made in England from the beginning to the end of his short and inglorious reign.

Marlborough's brothers appear to have conformed to the low standard of public morality which prevailed in their day. George, the naval Captain, had been sent to the Tower the year before by the House of Commons for disreputable conduct in the matter of convoy money; and we now find that grave suspicion attached to Charles, the Brigadier, for 'the greate imbeslement of the stores' and supplies taken at Kinsale. When official inquiry was instituted, he pretended that what was missing had been given to him as a present by the Jacobite Governour, Colonel Scott!*

During the winter the English troops in the South of Ireland suffered terribly from want of good provisions, and there was no money to purchase even the ordinary necessaries of life. Sickness increased at an appalling rate; and the mortality—the result chiefly of misery—was very great. From first to last throughout William's wars in Ireland, want, and its awful shadow, disease, dogged the steps of the English army. There were loud complaints at the time as to the unhealthiness of the climate and its injurious effects upon the English constitution. It was not, however, so much from the fevers bred in the undrained bogs and forests of this wet country that our soldiers suffered, as from the extremely unsanitary conditions under which they lived. Encamped on the most insalubrious sites, and suffering from the proverbial

* Domestic Papers, Ireland, No. 367: Rolls House.

inaptitude of the Englishman for camp life, their cheerless and uncomfortable existence became almost intolerable in the cold, rainy winter weather. Often shoeless for months, clothed in rags, crammed into filthy cabins and insufficiently fed, it is no wonder that they sickened and died. The foreign troops never suffered like the English, because of their handiness in providing for their own wants, and because they were more familiar with the shifts and expedients of camp life, but, above all, because they were better looked after by their officers. During the ensuing winter the Governour of Cork complained that his men were dying of want, and that he had not even the money required to put the place in a proper state of defence. In the Council-book of Kinsale we read 'that Brigadier General Churchill, our Governour, be informed, that Mr. Wm. Hull's house, formerly Capt^n. Stawell's dec. is the fittest in the town for an Hospital, and that Mr. Hull be satisfied by the Corporation for the same, and that the Governour be entreated to lend or sell some coals for the use of the Guards and Hospital, the charge to be defrayed by way of a rate on the inhabitants of the towne.'

1690.

$\frac{24}{3}$-$\frac{10}{11}$, 1690.

Brigadier Churchill thus describes the unhappy condition of his men at this time: 'They are fit to conquer, for they must do that or starve, which they are very nigh doing, and consequently are desperate: that he could draw out 500 men, but not 100 pair of shoes amongst them, which were not to be got there for money, if they had it.'*

It is no wonder that the events of 1690 should still be remembered in Ireland. The battle of the Boyne, one of the salient points in Irish history, put an end to Lord Tyrconnel's cruel, persecuting and unjust Irish government, and re-established English ascendancy. But the year was one of wrong and outrage inflicted upon the unarmed people by the soldiers of both sides. William's army was irregularly paid, and James's troops had nothing but the almost valueless brass 'gun money.' There was no

* Harris's 'William III.,' p. 297.

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bullion in England to spare for the army in Ireland, for all that could be found was sent to pay the war expenses in Holland. And as must always be expected with unpaid armies, both sides lived at free quarters upon the poor Irish people. In their cruel exactions it would be difficult to say whether the English or Irish soldiers, or the rapacious 'Rapparees,' were the most inhuman in their treatment of the peaceable inhabitants.* The conduct of the Dutch troops, highly disciplined and well looked after by their officers, was, however, a creditable exception. They took the necessaries of life, but no more, and no cruelty could be laid to their charge. The other foreign troops did not, however, imitate their chivalrous and meritorious conduct in this respect, and none behaved worse than Colonel Wolseley's Inniskillen troops. When in command this year of the military operations round Mullingar, and unaccustomed to Irish ways, he wrote: 'I am only uneasy here with the disorder of our own men, which has been so great in our march to all without distinction, that 'tis a shame to speak of it, and 'twas not in my power nor the other Colonel's to prevent it, having neither bread nor money to give them, which had I had, I would have hanged them to the last man, but I would have reclaimed them.'† The English company officers were nearly as bad as their men, but the most cruel and relentless of all were the Irish Protestant militia. They seemed to think it a duty to take vengeance upon their Roman Catholic countrymen for the massacres and cruelties inflicted upon their fathers and grandfathers, and for the infamous treatment they

* The 'Rapparee' was a peasant who lived like a savage. His food was potatoes and milk, and he went about half naked. The hovel in which he lived was a mere lean-to of poles resting on a natural bank or on a mud wall, and it was covered only with gorse and peat. His cunning nearly equalled his cruelty to man and beast. He relentlessly murdered men, women and children, and he maimed cattle with all the ferocity of the lowest order of savage. See Dalrymple, Part II., Book IV.; and Story's Continuation, p. 68.

† Clarke's Correspondence, T. C., D.

had recently received under Tyrconnel's priestly government.

In nearly all the memoirs of Marlborough it is asserted that after a short stay at home he returned to Ireland for the winter; that he did great things towards the settlement of the country, and introduced order where all before was chaos. As a matter of fact, he never revisited Ireland. Ginkel, who was Commander of the Forces, during the winter undertook some unfortunate operations against the enemy in Kerry, and when they failed he returned to Dublin. We know that Marlborough was in London in January, 1690-91, because we are told that he 'dined that month in the Tower with Lord Lucas, the Constable, upon which occasion he ordered £100 to be distributed amongst the poor Irish taken prisoners at Cork and Kinsale.'* $\frac{24}{5}\cdot\frac{1}{2}$, $16\frac{90}{91}$.

* Luttrell's Diary, 29, 1, $16\frac{90}{91}$; also Clarendon Correspondence. It is evident from a letter of his, of $\frac{27}{6}\cdot\frac{1}{2}$, 1691, that he had been in London for some time before that date. Dalrymple, Appendix to Part II., Book VII.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE GRAND ALLIANCE.

Difficulty in obtaining recruits.

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MARLBOROUGH'S brilliant successes at Cork and Kinsale relieved William of much anxiety, and placed his affairs in Ireland on a new and satisfactory footing. The French troops had returned home, a few French officers alone remaining to mark the interest which Lewis XIV. still took in James and his cause. Throughout the operations there had been much ill-feeling between the French and Irish soldiers, and the former quitted Ireland with unconcealed joy. An Irish army still held Limerick, Athlone, and the country beyond the Shannon; but now that Cork and Kinsale had fallen, it was tolerably certain that Ginkel would be able to make himself undisputed master of all Ireland in the course of the coming year. Rebellion having been put down in Scotland, it was possible to reduce the army there, and to send more troops to Flanders. William could now turn his attention from home affairs to those European combinations which a war with France involved. By a close alliance between England, Holland, Spain, and the German Powers, he could calculate upon beginning the approaching campaign with forces superior in number to any army which Lewis could send to the Netherlands.

In those days the sentiments of nationality and patriotism, which now so largely influence armies, were little valued or even recognised, nor was the superiority of an army

drawn exclusively from one nation over an army made up of contingents from many kingdoms fully understood. The moral force which community of national aims and sentiments gives to an army was not yet reckoned an important factor when computing the relative fighting strength of opposing sides. In the previous year Lewis had been successful everywhere except in Ireland. The Dutch army had been defeated at Fleurus, and the English fleet off Beachy Head. Our ships, driven from the Channel, had sought refuge in the Thames and Medway. The Turks had taken Belgrade by storm, and seriously pressed the Emperor in Hungary. When the Duke of Savoy joined the Grand Alliance he was at once defeated by the French at Staffarda, his duchy occupied, and Susa taken from him. Lewis had also gained considerable advantages in Catalonia.

The formation in this year of the 'Grand Alliance' was the masterpiece of William's diplomacy. It was a confederacy of the closest nature between England, the German Empire and the United Provinces, commonly called Holland. Its chief object was to prevent Lewis XIV. from obtaining supreme power in Europe, and it may be regarded as the beginning of that great combination against France of which Marlborough in the next reign became the moving spirit and leader. It now occupied William's thoughts to the exclusion of all other subjects.

During William's absence in Holland, whither he had gone to negotiate this Grand Alliance, Marlborough remained at home in charge of the military arrangements of the country. He was also a member of the 'Committee for the affaires of Ireland.' He had by this time become thoroughly discontented. Lord Sydney, writing to the King about the end of February, says: 'My Lord Marlborough behaves himself so much better than he did at first after your Majesty's going away; he is now pretty diligent, and seldom fails the committees.' He was thoroughly disgusted at seeing the command in Ireland

$\frac{27}{5}$-$\frac{3}{3}$, $16\frac{23}{51}$.

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given to the Dutchman Ginkel, and no high position in the army destined for service in Flanders reserved for or offered to him.

William was anxious that a strong British contingent should take the field with the Allied forces in the coming summer. But as is usually the case in armies raised by voluntary enlistment, it was no easy matter to find the required number of recruits. The war in Ireland had cost thousands of English soldiers; the regiments stationed in that country were short of men, and required frequent drafts from home to keep them up to their establishment. The drums of the recruiting-sergeant were to be heard in every county, almost in every village. Even the gaol-bird was welcomed with open arms, provided that he could shoulder a musket or trail a pike. Upon Marlborough devolved the difficult task of finding the required numbers, and he greatly resented Caermarthen's interference in matters of which the latter was naturally ignorant. They disliked one another, and the Minister was prone to show his spite by interfering with the military plans of his colleague. In the following letter Marlborough complains of this to the King: 'Whitehall, February 17, 1691. 'SIR,—I here send your Majesty a copy of what we have done concerning the recruits. I must at the same time take leave to tell your Majesty that I am tired out of my life with the unreasonable way of proceeding of Lord President, for he is very ignorant what is fit for an officer, both as to recruits and everything else as to a soldier; so that when I have given such as I think necessary orders, he does what he thinks fit, and enters into the business of tents, arms, and the offe-reckonings, which were all settled before your Majesty left England, so that at this rate business is never done; but I think all this proceeds from, I hope, the unreasonable prejudice he has taken against me, which makes me incapable of doing you that service which I do with all my heart, and should wish to do, for I do with much truth wish both your person and government

to prosper. I hope it will not be long before your Majesty will be here, after which I shall beg never to be in England when you are not.—Etc., etc., MARLBOROUGH.'*

The letters between Marlborough and the King at this period were of a confidential and almost of an intimate nature, though there was certainly no love lost between them. William could never forgive the part Marlborough had taken in the matter of Anne's settlement, and Marlborough was disappointed and enraged at William's blind partiality for Dutch commanders, and at his treatment of one to whom he was so largely indebted for his Crown. In fact, the King had, unwisely, done nothing to make the foremost of his English soldiers either a loyal subject or a firm friend.

* Dalrymple, Appendix to Part II., Book VII.

CHAPTER LXIX.

MARLBOROUGH'S TREASONABLE CORRESPONDENCE WITH JAMES.

Marlborough discontented with William's treatment of him—Most of the leading Englishmen intrigue with James—Marlborough tries to convince James of his repentance, and sends him military intelligence—He obtains a written pardon from James—Duke of Wellington's opinion of Marlborough's conduct—William displaces some recalcitrant Bishops.

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WILLIAM was by this time aware that many of his former friends had ceased to wish him well. He knew that several of them were in correspondence with James, and had entered into conspiracies against his Government; but as yet William did not suspect Marlborough, although he was amongst the first who had done so. Admirals Russell and Carter and other leading naval officers also made overtures to James at this time. The first-named loudly complained of the manner in which William had neglected him.

In the month of January, when Marlborough began his direct correspondence with James, we find him writing effusively to William about his friend Godolphin, who wished to retire from office: 'That which I urge most to him is your personal kindness to him, and I find that has weight with him,' etc. He goes on to beg William to write himself to Godolphin to say 'that you deserve better than that he should abandon you at this time, when you have most need of his service.'* The suggested letter is written, and the Minister thanks the King for it, and assures him of

$\frac{27}{6}$-$\frac{1}{2}$, 16$\frac{90}{91}$.

$\frac{6}{16}$ 2, 16$\frac{90}{91}$.

* Dalrymple, Appendix to Part II., Book VII. These letters from Marlborough were found in King William's cabinet.

his warm attachment; yet both these men, so full of loyal protestations to William. were at that moment plotting, or at least pretending to plot, with his enemies!

Through the arrest and trial of Lord Preston, the names of many Jacobites in England were obtained; but Preston, in his confession, did not mention Marlborough, Godolphin, or Halifax, and these three, being members of the Council, were aware of his reticence. As early as January, 1690-91, Marlborough wrote to James to implore his forgiveness, and to assure him of his future devotion and loyalty.* Whilst William was absent in Holland, struggling with selfish, short-sighted allies to arrange a common plan of campaign against France, Marlborough, Godolphin, Halifax, Russell, Mordaunt, Sunderland, Caermarthen, and Shrewsbury all began to intrigue with James. They expressed heart-felt contrition and begged for pardon, and Marlborough specially seemed sincere in his repentance. He strove to persuade James that he was truly sorry for his past conduct, and endeavoured to make him believe that he sincerely wished to see him restored to the Throne. As already mentioned, he was thoroughly discontented with the inadequate rewards he had received for his great service to William at the Revolution; and when he saw substantial favours bestowed upon Dutchmen, he felt that his campaign in Ireland had not been properly recognised. But although these things made him more open to Jacobite influences and less friendly to the new King, he never seriously desired to have James established again in England, his object being merely to hedge against the contingency of the exile's restoration, which then seemed by no means improbable. The more thoroughly the correspondence on this point is sifted, and contemporary evidence examined, the more clear does this become, not only as regards Marlborough, but as regards the other conspirators also.†

* Macpherson, vol. i., p. 238.

† See Clarke's 'Life of James': Dalrymple: Macpherson, etc., etc.

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Marlborough's first move in this unworthy game was to convince James of his sincerity; and he set to work with characteristic shrewdness and cunning. His intimate knowledge of James made him realize that, no matter what terms James might accept in order to compass his own restoration, he would not abide by them when once more settled on the throne. Marlborough knew that if James were restored to power it would mean not only the destruction of liberty and constitutional government, but degradation and poverty to those who, like himself, had taken a leading part in the Revolution. He knew that James would never forgive him, and he sought therefore, by means of well-feigned remorse and by promises of present and future help, to obtain a written pardon for his treason. In his heart he loathed the principles upon which James had governed; his conduct, therefore, throughout this correspondence with St. Germains must have been dictated by purely selfish motives. He felt that he could best induce James to credit his sincerity by supplying him with secret information accessible only to William's Privy Councillors. He gave, or pretended to give, the Jacobite agents intelligence of what the Council heard daily of the Jacobite movements and plots. This much is certain, that the information he and other Privy Councillors supplied was of incalculable use to these agents, as it enabled them to act with greater ease and safety. He and some of his colleagues also furnished them with what purported to be full details of William's naval and military plans. In this treasonable correspondence Marlborough professed to regard his past conduct towards James as so reprehensible that he did not ask to have his confidence or to share Jacobite secrets. He only humbly begged to be made use of in any way that his former master might deem advisable. He assured James that Lady Marlborough would bring back the Princess Anne to her allegiance. He inquired if James wished him to join in a plot against Lord Danby, who was then William's First Minister and most trusted adviser. He

engaged, if desired to do so, to bring over to the Jacobite cause the British troops then serving in Flanders. He said, however, that it would be better, in his opinion, to wait and co-operate with those in Parliament who intended next session not only to press for the recall of the British troops serving abroad, but to rid England of all foreign soldiers. When this had been effected it would be easier, he said, for him to win over the army to the Jacobite cause. He even went so far as to advise James to invade England with a French army of about 20,000 men; a larger force might, he added, frighten the English people, always suspicious of foreigners, and he counselled him to promise that the French troops should return home as soon as he should be restored to his rights. He urged that every endeavour should be made to maintain James's cause in Ireland, as William, in his impatience to fight Lewis XIV. in Flanders, meant to overpower the Irish rebels with all despatch.* Godolphin was a party to this correspondence; and Marlborough now urged James not to allow Godolphin to resign his position in the Treasury and in the Privy Council, as his retirement from office would be a serious loss to the Jacobite cause.

To what extent he divulged information not generally known to hundreds of others, it is now impossible to determine. James, writing in 1691, says in his Memoirs: 'He (Churchill) laid open that Prince's designs both by sea and land; which concurring *with what the King had from good hands*, was a great argument of Churchill's sincerity.'† From this it may be fairly assumed that all Marlborough told the Jacobite agents was what he knew that others had already communicated to the Court at St. Germains. This will be seen further on to have been

* Macpherson, vol. i., pp. 237, 238.

† See opening of this chapter, p. 226, where it is told that Marlborough also wrote to King William begging of him to ask Godolphin to continue at the Treasury, as he was so useful a public servant. The fact is, Marlborough wished to keep his friend in office, as his own power and influence were thereby increased.

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the case in 1691 about the Brest affair. But although it cannot be proved beyond contradiction that he never told his old master anything that could hurt England or injure William's cause, it is certain that he strove to make James believe that he told him all he learnt which might serve Jacobite interests. The fact that James never believed in the sincerity of his contrition goes far to prove the hollowness and dishonesty of his Jacobite professions. The Jacobite agents did not see through his conduct as their master did; his repentance was apparently so sincere, and from his position in the army it was so important to win him over, that they thought it advisable to send a special messenger to St. Germains to communicate with James on the subject. Although the poor exile did not believe in Marlborough's protestations of penitence and loyalty, he was not in a position to reject any proffered aid. The result was, that he gave both Marlborough and
$\frac{3}{30}$ 4, 1691. Godolphin a full pardon in his own handwriting, and Mary of Modena endorsed it with a few pleasing sentences. Marlborough having thus secured what he had so basely plotted for, felt that, come what might, he was at least safe from the block, and his children from poverty.

In the following month he again declared that he was the most penitent of men. He enlarged upon the sincerity of his remorse for 'his villainies to y^e^ best of Kings, and y^t^ it would be impossible for him to be at rest till he had in some measure made an attonement by endeavouring (though at the utmost peril of his life) to restore his injured Prince
$\frac{30}{5}$-$\frac{5}{6}$, 1691. and beloved Master.' He wrote to James, 'that he was so entirely returned to his duty and love to his Majesty's person, that he would be ready with joy upon the least command to abandon Wife, Children, and Country to regain and preserve his esteem.'* In this letter he assured James that Lords Caermarthen and Shrewsbury, as well as others, only kept aloof because they despaired of being forgiven, a

* See Macpherson, vol. i., pp. 237, 238; and Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., pp. 448, 449.

statement which led to both those noble Lords being drawn into a correspondence with St. Germains.*

There can be no doubt that all this, related at length in King James's memoirs, actually occurred, and that Marlborough did make these protestations of penitence while imploring James's pardon. But it was all lip-work, and when pressed by James to fulfil his promise of bringing over to the Jacobite cause the English troops in Flanders, he pretended that there had been a misunderstanding on that point, and he backed out of his promise to gain over the army at home, by saying that it could not be done until James should come himself to England.† Referring to Churchill's correspondence, James remarks in his Memoirs that 'so little other proofs of a change, than words and protestations, made his intentions lyabel to suspicion; yet he put so plausible a face upon his reasons and actions, that if they were not accompanyed with truth and sincerity, they had at least a specious appearance of fair and honest dealings.'‡ Stupid as James was, he saw clearly through these proceedings, and complained bitterly that, whilst Marlborough contrived to make his own position safe, he himself gained nothing, and was put to considerable expense by the agents whom he employed.

The morality of the law at that time was superior to the moral code professed by society, and was certainly above the ordinary standard of honour up to which men were expected to act. According to the law and to the theoretical morality of the day, it was wrong to take bribes or to disclose State secrets to the enemy. Yet nearly all public men of the time were more or less guilty of these malpractices, and consequently, those malpractices did not imply the relative degree of turpitude which they would do at present. The Revolution had upset men's notions of right and wrong, and for years afterwards the fact of having two

* Dalrymple, Part II., Book VII.

† Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 449.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

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Kings, one in exile and one on the Throne, confused the national ideas of loyalty and allegiance.

In passing judgment on the men who, having placed William on the Throne, plotted, or pretended to plot, his downfall, we must not forget that treason was associated in their minds only with hereditary monarchy. They would have ridiculed the application of the word 'traitor' to one who had conspired to destroy Cromwell, and to them William was little more than a princely Protector. There was no *jus Divinum* to remind the discontented subject, suffering under what he conceived to be personal slights and injuries, that opposition to William was treasonable. And though it was neither Marlborough's wish nor interest to have James on the Throne again, yet there were times when he almost repented of his disloyalty to him, and regretted on personal grounds the change of Kings which he had so materially helped to bring about.

The great Duke of Wellington, when discussing the double part played by Marlborough, said: 'It was no more than many men in France did during Napoleon's reign.'* To a vast number of the English people William was a usurper, whilst the majority merely tolerated him as their only possible protector against Popery and arbitrary power. None loved him, or felt for him that loyal sentiment which the Jacobites entertained for James.

In reading the history of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, we weary of the impeachment and trial of Ministers for treasonable practices, and for stealing public money. These were the most common crimes amongst the servants of the State, and treason was esteemed the greater of the two. It was not treason against the nation, but treason against the King that was deemed the really heinous crime, and plots against the Throne or life of the Monarch struck the seventeenth-century imagination with unaffected horror. For fifty years Englishmen had been habituated to rebellions and revolutions, and to

* Greville's Diary, 8, 8, 1843.

the plots and treacheries which necessarily attend them. Indeed, at one time ambition's only chance seemed to be in conspiracy. Cromwell's crimes were succeeded by the coarse immorality, private and public, of the Restoration. All this grievously undermined the principle of hereditary right, and the foundations upon which our ancient laws were based. It is no wonder, therefore, that men's perceptions of right and wrong should have been blunted by these violent changes, and warped by the unworthy practices which sprang from them.

William's position at this time was a trying one, requiring both courage and a keen knowledge of human nature to maintain it. Abroad he had to deal with timid and half-hearted allies, and he now found that his difficulties in England were no less serious. The country was, as he discovered, honeycombed with Jacobite plots, of one of which Lord Clarendon, his uncle by marriage, was the head. In some instances he found it necessary to punish severely those taken red-handed in these conspiracies. Several Bishops, too, still refused to swear allegiance or to recognise him as King, and before going abroad for the summer's campaign he felt it necessary to remove them and appoint others in their places. This course he adopted most unwillingly, being loath to punish worthy men for an action dictated by principle, and especially men who had so lately defended the rights of the people against James.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1691.

Marlborough goes to Flanders with William – Experiences the obstructiveness of the Dutch Government—Great want of money to carry on the war—'Pickeering'—Vaudemont's opinion of Marlborough—The Campaign in Flanders ends without a battle—Aughrim, Galway, and Limerick surrender—The Irish Brigade—Parliament meets: large supplies for the war demanded—Great discontent at William's foreign policy and his preference for foreigners—Marlborough's grievances against William—Anne asks her father's forgiveness.

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WILLIAM now determined to take Marlborough with him to Flanders in command of the English contingent; and in order to carry out this arrangement he recalled General Tollemache, and sent him to command a brigade in Ireland under Ginkel.*

Accompanied by Marlborough, Sidney, and the Dutch favourite Portland, William reached the Hague early in May. Then and throughout the whole year's operations, William treated Marlborough with every outward show of esteem and confidence. He made him, indeed, subordinate to his Dutch Generals, but this he did partly from a natural preference for his own countrymen, and partly because he thought that their previous experience in European warfare fitted them better for high command. Besides, William never

May 5, 1691.

* The amount of the comforts which a Major-General carried with him into the field must have been considerable, for Luttrell mentions that Kirke's equipage for Flanders consisted of 'above 30 ledd horses and sumpter horses.'

forgot that Churchill's influence with the army had placed him on the Throne, and, lest that influence might some day be used against him, he was determined to give Marlborough no opportunity of increasing it. Ginkel had hitherto done nothing to earn the position of Commander of the Forces in Ireland, but, though far from brilliant, he was eminently safe, and William had nothing to fear from him. The Cork campaign had greatly added to Marlborough's reputation and influence with the army, and were he now allowed to complete the reconquest of Ireland, he might possibly become a source of anxiety, if not of actual danger. William preferred, therefore, the risk of failure under dull Ginkel to the certainty of success under brilliant Marlborough.

Upon reaching the Hague, William sent Marlborough and Count Solmes into Flanders to make the necessary arrangements for assembling the army prior to his taking the field himself. It was during this visit to Holland that Marlborough realized for the first time how vexatious, dilatory, and obstructive the States-General could be. He was destined for ten long years to suffer at their hands, and the experience which he gained as a subordinate upon this occasion was of great value when subsequently he was called upon to deal with the Dutch Government as Commander-in-Chief. He now had to encounter not only worry and petty obstruction from their 'High Mightinesses,' but also the national jealousy of their military officers.

The prospects of the Allies were far from bright. Money was so scarce that it became necessary to disband many good Spanish and Walloon regiments. Some of the contingents were badly equipped, and generally speaking the whole army presented an appearance very inferior to that of the troops opposed to it. The Spaniards especially were ill-clothed, and deficient in everything; yet desertion was almost unknown in their ranks, which could not be said of either the French or English armies. The French army, under the Duke of Luxembourg, was provided with everything required to make it an effective military machine. It

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consisted of 142 squadrons and 53 battalions, with 80 guns.* The Marquis de Boufflers joined subsequently, and raised the total strength of the French army to about 57,000 men. In the month of July the numerical strength of the Allied army became some 8,000 or 9,000 stronger than that of France; but it was made up of many nationalities having no sound bond of union, and consequently it lacked the homogeneity—another word for military strength—which was so prominent a feature in the armies of Lewis.†

July 7, 1691.

This campaign, in which Vauban and Cohorn were the engineers of the respective sides, was more than usually barren of decisive result. It was, like all the campaigns of that uninteresting seven years' war which the Grand Alliance waged against France, a series of profitless marches and counter-marches, and did not even end in the customary siege. William's first object was to protect the southern frontiers of Brabant and Hainault, the western borders of the latter and of Flanders between the sea and the Scheldt; but at the same time he kept an observant eye on Mons, watching for a chance to retake it. He strove to decoy Luxembourg from its neighbourhood, intending, if he should succeed, to double back and invest it before the French army could prevent him.

Whilst prepared to accept battle under favourable conditions, he did not feel equal to attack Luxembourg, in a strong position, as a prelude to the investment of Mons. That able General was, however, too great a master of the strategy and military science of the day to afford William any good opportunity of putting this plan into execution. Seeing that he could not succeed in this direction, the King endeavoured to draw Luxembourg into a general action on equal terms in the open country, but although the French

* If the squadrons are computed at 130 men each and the battalions at 550 each, the total strength of the French army was about 46,600.

† Some English battalions had joined the Allies since the fall of Mons — viz., a second battalion of Douglas's (now the Royal Scots), the Royal Fusiliers, Lord Bath's (now the Lincolns), and a battalion of Scottish Guards.

Marshal was willing to fight on the defensive in a strong position, he would not surrender his advantage to please his antagonist.

At times the two armies remained for days in close proximity. There was a great deal of mutual reconnoitring, the commanders rising betimes to inspect one another's positions. On these occasions there was often much firing between the outposts, and what our soldiers called 'pickeering'—a term applied to the practice common amongst the volunteers and other gentlemen who followed both headquarters, of riding out in front to fire their pistols at one another. In these frequent skirmishes much powder was expended, but little execution was done.* During the progress of this uneventful campaign Marlborough had no opportunity of showing what he could do as a leader in battle, but his administrative ability and his mastery of details made a deep impression on all who were brought in contact with him. The Prince of Vaudemont, when asked his opinion of the English Generals then serving with the army, said: 'Kirke has fire, Lanier thought, Mackay skill, and Colchester bravery; but there is something inexpressible in the Earl of Marlborough. All their virtues seem to be united in his single person. I have lost,' he added emphatically, 'my wonted skill in physiognomy, if any subject of your Majesty can ever attain such a height of military glory as that to which this combination of sublime perfections must raise him.' The Prince thoroughly understood the genius of the man, and William acknowledged the propriety of the observation by replying, with a smile: 'Cousin, you have done your part in answering my question, and I believe the Earl of Marlborough will do his to verify your prediction.'†

According to custom, both armies went into winter

* D'Auvergne's 'Campaign of 1691,' p. 115.

† 'Lives of Marlborough and Eugene,' p. 30. The writer states that the Pensionary Heinsius, who heard the conversation, had repeated it to him.

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quarters in October, the bad weather and deep roads putting a stop to what we may fairly call William's annual 'autumn manœuvres.' Towards the end of that month Marlborough returned to England. This costly parade in Flanders was a ridiculous affair from every point of view; but the experience was not thrown away upon Marlborough. He learnt from this campaign how easily the most important objective of any war can be mistaken, and its great aim misunderstood by the military pedant, and how the fighting spirit of a General who lacks originality can be nullified by formalism. The commander who seeks his inspiration in military text-books, and bridles his imagination and fetters his instincts with red tape, can spend the taxpayers' money; but he will never achieve any magnificent success. It may be said of this year's campaign, as of the last, that the French had everywhere the best of it, except in Ireland. The renewed war with Turkey had prevented the Emperor from rendering substantial aid to the Allied cause. The possession of Strasburg and Philipsburg secured to Lewis two excellent passages over the Rhine, and with the Duchy of Luxembourg in possession of his troops he could, from his central position, put superior forces into the field at any moment, either on the Upper Rhine or in Flanders.

But whilst Marlborough was thus compelled to be a silent witness of William's incapacity as a General in Flanders, Ginkel was engaged in completing the reconquest of Ireland. For the first half of the year the French General, St. Ruth, with a native Irish army, still held Connaught for James; but early in July Ginkel took Athlone, and, twelve days afterwards, attacked St. Ruth in his carefully selected position at Aughrim. The Irish fought well upon that memorable Sunday afternoon until a round shot struck down their General, when they broke and fled in all directions.*

$\frac{29}{19}$-$\frac{6}{7}$, 1691.

$\frac{12}{22}$ 7, 1691.

* 'Aughrim is now no more, St. Ruth is dead,
And all his Guards are from the battle fled;
As he rode down the hill he met his fall,
And died a victim to a cannon ball.'
'Historical Tragedy of the Battle.'

James says in his Memoirs—and having the best information, his opinions on military points always deserve attention—that had the English 'pursued their victory and marched on Limerick, they would have finished the war at one blow.' Without doubt Marlborough in Ginkel's place would have done so; but the Dutch General was made of different metal.* The capture of Galway followed, however, as the immediate result of this victory, and Limerick, after a six weeks' siege, surrendered also. Ginkel, created Earl of Athlone for this campaign, owed much of his success to the able assistance of Generals Mackay and Tollemache, who, to the disgust of the officers and soldiers, had no notice taken of them 'because they were not foreigners.'† ²¹₃₁ 7, 1691. ²⁸₇-⁹₁₆, 1691.

The victory of Aughrim destroyed the Irish army, and the fall of Limerick completed William's reconquest of Ireland, and robbed James of all further hope of power or position in that country. Had Lewis employed in Ireland half the army which Luxembourg had been moving uselessly from camp to camp in Flanders, he could easily have destroyed Ginkel and re-established James in Dublin Castle.

The residue of St. Ruth's unfortunate army was shipped to France. In all it is computed that some 19,000 splendid Irish soldiers, under the gallant Sarsfield, embarked at Cork.‡ These brave and reckless spirits, led by Irish gentlemen who knew and understood them, now transferred their allegiance to England's greatest enemy. They never forgot their old hatred of those who had been their masters, and the native Irish still glory in the fact that the only important victory which the French can fairly claim over the English was won for them by the hard-fighting Irish Brigade which had its origin in these emigrants.

Marlborough spent this winter at St. Albans when not in attendance upon the King. Though in frequent correspond-

* Macpherson, vol. i., p. 239.

† Dalrymple, Part II., Book VI., p. 166.

‡ James estimates the number at 30,000.—Macpherson, vol. i., p. 240.

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ence with his old master at St. Germains, and thoroughly discontented with his position at Court and in the army, he still lived on fairly friendly terms with William. None but Dutchmen, however, were admitted to real intimacy with the King, though we read of his dining occasionally with Lord Montague in his lodgings in Whitehall, when Lords Marlborough, Portland, Essex, Sydney and Godolphin were present.* There were great rejoicings this winter upon the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, and in celebration of William's birthday. A grand ball was given at the palace, where the company, we are told, mostly appeared in very fine new clothes. The crowd was so great that not half of the ladies invited could obtain entrance, and only nine chosen couples were able to dance, Marlborough being one of the nine men. Though now past forty-one years of age, he was still remarkably handsome and graceful, whilst his manners were more polished and fascinating than ever.

$\frac{13}{23}$ 11, 1691.

Upon his return to London, William lost no time in assembling Parliament. In his opening speech he dwelt upon the success with which the war in Ireland had been brought to an end, and at the same time urged the necessity for vigorous operations against the French King in the coming year. He asked for large supplies to enable him to equip a strong fleet and a land force of some 65,000 men. The proposal to maintain a large army in Flanders was by no means well received. The necessity for prosecuting the war in Ireland at all costs had been generally recognised, but it was not equally clear why troops should be sent to protect the United Provinces, where English interests were, to say the least, remotely involved. The educated alone could fully comprehend what those interests were, and few but far-seeing statesmen like William could understand why it was desirable to fight for them. Thoroughly English was all this, and quite worthy of 'her Majesty's Opposition' for the last half-century.

$\frac{22}{1}$-$\frac{16}{11}$, 1691.

* Historical MSS., Appendix, Seventh Report, p. 207.

As soon as the surrender of Limerick had marked the end of the war in Ireland, the Jacobite party in England, and all whom William's bad manners had alienated, found in the standing army a popular subject for complaint. The old cry that it would be used against the liberties of the people was revived, and it was boldly asserted that the militia sufficed for the defence of the country. If we had Allies whom we must help, let that help, it was urged, be in ships, not in soldiers. Those who argued thus ignored the fact that no fleet, however strong, could protect Flanders from France, and that if Flanders were lost Holland would soon share the same fate. The discontented Whigs forgot that if the Dutch fleet were joined to that of France, English ships could not keep the sea. The Channel would become French, and we should in consequence lose our foreign trade. Every story that could arouse the national prejudices of the English people against William was invented and freely circulated. His partiality for Dutchmen had from the first excited much comment and angry remonstrance from those who, like Marlborough, were disappointed of their expected preferment. William took no pains to make himself popular in England or to gain the affection of his new subjects. The figure of the King was unfamiliar to the people, and he disgusted the nobility by his ungracious silence and unsympathetic manner. They felt this all the more deeply because they knew how intimate and convivial he could be over the bottle with his favourite Dutch courtiers. It was with difficulty that Englishmen could obtain audience of the King, and when they did see him he opened his lips seldom, and his heart never. He gained no friends in his new kingdom, while he daily added to the number of his personal enemies. To throw discredit upon his administration, it was sought to prove that the country was defrauded by the payment of soldiers and sailors who, it was alleged, had no existence except in the pay-sheets. The subject was hotly debated in the House of Commons.

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Shortly after his return from Flanders, at the beginning of the winter of 1691-92, Marlborough sought to obtain the post of Master-General of the Ordnance, which had become vacant by the death of Schomberg at the Boyne, and had not yet been filled up. He was without doubt the most fitting man in England for this important military charge, and as the emoluments and patronage of the office were considerable, he—still far from rich—craved for the income it would secure him. He was the foremost soldier in the English army, and his services entitled him to look for this reward. But it was refused him, and was bestowed two years later upon William's English favourite, Henry, Viscount Sidney, who was no soldier and hated Marlborough. This refusal rankled in Marlborough's mind, and showed him how little he had to expect from his new master. He spoke openly in the army of the want of consideration shown to English officers, and in his anger he often alluded to William in disparaging and offensive terms. Before several people assembled at Lord Wharton's he related that in the previous reign James had been so anxious to fill the army with Irishmen, that the only question asked was, 'Do you speak English?' Now, he said, you had only to change the word 'Irishman' into 'Dutchman.'* He was certainly not checked by his wife in any of these ebullitions of petulance—on the contrary, she followed his example, and her loud denunciations of the King and his Dutch favourites were daily repeated in Kensington Palace. Anne, who cordially disliked William, encouraged her Lady-in-Waiting in this conduct.

Marlborough had another cause of complaint. During the autumn the Princess Anne and her husband had both reminded William of his promise to confer the Garter on Marlborough in recognition of his services in Ireland, and they urged him to fulfil it as a personal favour to themselves, the Prince adding that it was the only request he

* The Minister F. Bonnet to the Elector Frederick III.: Ranke, vol. vi., p. 177.

had ever made of the King. But no notice was taken of their request.*

It was about this time that Marlborough, perhaps with more candour than wisdom, remonstrated with the King upon his lavish bestowal of Crown property upon Lords Portland and Rocheford, and others of his fellow-countrymen.† It was, he said, 'with great grief of heart many of his faithful servants, among whom he requested the honour to be included, saw the royal munificence confined to one or two lords, and those foreigners.' 'As far as he was concerned he had no reason to complain, he was amply provided for in the post he held under his Majesty; but in duty bound he felt obliged to lay before him what he ought to know, because he could not otherwise be apprized of means to remedy the disasters that might be the result of such an unpopular conduct.' William was most indignant, and, as might be expected, the strained relations between Marlborough and Bentinck were further embittered. Such plain speaking could not be forgiven, nor was it ever forgotten.‡

Early in the winter a number of general officers were named to be employed in Flanders during the next campaign. Marlborough, who was one of them, was freely condemned at Court for refusing to serve in Flanders except in command of the English troops, a position which he was fully justified in claiming, though Ginkel had been sounded to accept it.§

Meanwhile James was pressing Marlborough for something more than promises, but the latter had no desire or intention of committing himself, and was far too cautious and astute to comply. But it was safe and easy to induce the Princess Anne to ask her father's forgiveness and assure

* Dalrymple, Appendix to Part II., Book VII.

† William had raised his friend and illegitimate relation Zulestein to the peerage as Lord Rocheford.

‡ 'Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals'; London, 1713, p. 31.

§ The Minister Bonnet to the Elector, $\frac{26}{5}$-$\frac{1}{2}$, 1692: Ranke, vol. vi., p. 177.

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him of her sorrow for the part she had played; and this much Marlborough did, for, whilst it bound him to nothing, it would, he knew, supply James with a useful card to play in his difficult game with the French Court. It would enable him to assure Lewis that whilst Marlborough would answer for the army and Russell for the navy, the great and powerful English Church would be managed for him by the Princess Anne. Her repentant letter was written in
Dec. 12, 1691. December, 1691, but owing to the close watch kept on all persons going to France, James did not receive it until
May 5, 1692. after Russell's victory off La Hogue.* It would appear to have served Marlborough's purpose to a great extent, for it is mentioned in James's Memoirs thus: 'Considering the great power my Lord and Lady Churchill had with her, was a more than ordinary marke of that Lord's sincerity in what he professed.'† It is tolerably certain that William and Mary both knew of Anne's letter, and it is reasonable to infer that this knowledge tended to estrange them still more from the Marlboroughs, whom they justly held responsible for it. Everything that took place in Anne's little Court was known to Barbara, Lady Fitzharding, one of Anne's household and Lady Marlborough's most intimate friend.‡ She habitually recounted all she heard day by day to her sister Elizabeth, William's ill-favoured mistress,§ and it is only natural to suppose that a woman of Sarah Churchill's outspoken nature would tell her friend all about Anne's letter to her father. In a similar way Lady Fitzharding was in the habit of hearing much of the Jacobite news that reached the Cockpit.

Marlborough's loss of the Royal favour made James at this time more disposed than he had been previously to

* Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., pp. 477-498.

† *Ibid.*, p. 476.

‡ She was the daughter of Sir Edward Villiers.

§ She married Lord George Hamilton in 1695, who was made Earl of Orkney by William as a reward for his compliance. She died 1733. She had been Lady-in-Waiting to Mary before her marriage with the Prince of Orange.

accept his assurances of personal devotion. As Marlborough was brother-in-law to Tyrconnel and uncle to Berwick, it was taken for granted that he would lean towards the cause which was theirs as well as that of his old master. With more sagacity than James is usually credited with, he says in his Memoirs: 'The most interested men's repentance may be credited when they can reasonably hope to mend their fortune by repairing their fault, and better their condition by returning to their duty.'

A scheme, said to be for the restoration of James by a constitutional mode of procedure, was much talked of this year. I do not for a moment believe that Marlborough and the others who devised it had the least intention of using it for that purpose, although they told James they had. But they meant to use it for the purpose of compelling William to govern England exclusively by Englishmen on English lines and for exclusively English objects. The national hatred of foreigners was proverbial, and Marlborough as a soldier had special reasons for detesting them, as William confided almost every important command to his own countrymen. In all military society Marlborough was loud in denunciations of this policy, and impressed upon his hearers that it destroyed their prospects. His scheme was to take advantage of this national feeling and to move an address in Parliament requesting the King to dismiss all foreigners from the public service, and to send out of England all the Dutch troops—about 5,000 men—he still retained there. William knew of this scheme and dreaded it above all things, as it would place him in a most serious dilemma. If he gave way, he would thereby hand himself over to his enemies in England, as powerless as Samson was when deprived of his hair; if he refused, he would create an estrangement between himself and Parliament that he felt would naturally destroy his position in England. James was buoyed up with the hope that Parliament, under these circumstances, would recall him, and that the army led by Marlborough,

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and the navy by Admiral Russell, would side with Parliament and secure his restoration. The plot came to nothing, for some over-suspicious Jacobite, seized with an apprehension that Marlborough was working not in James's interest, but with a view to place Anne on the throne, thought it advisable to stop the whole proceeding, and accordingly disclosed the secret to Bentinck.*

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 440.

CHAPTER LXXI.

LEWIS XIV. PROPOSES TO INVADE ENGLAND.

James draws up a project for the invasion of England—The French Navy—Whilst Lewis was preparing for the invasion of England, William was making arrangements for a descent upon the French coast.

WHILST William was obtaining supplies from Parliament and making arrangements for a vigorous prosecution of the war in Flanders, his enemy, Lewis XIV., was secretly preparing, for the invasion of England, an army of between twenty and thirty thousand men to be under the command of James II. It is a curious and unaccountable fact that it was not until William had reconquered Ireland, had put down rebellion in Scotland, and the Jacobite party in England had been demoralized in consequence, that Lewis turned his attention seriously to the invasion of this country. Had he sent a strong squadron into the Irish Channel to prevent the return of William and his army from Ireland, and landed 20,000 men under a British commander on the coast of Sussex immediately after his victory off Beachy Head, or even a month earlier, such an army, aided by the English Jacobites, might easily have taken London. The Jacobites were at that time strong in Scotland; in England they had not yet been disheartened by reverses; whilst in Ireland, even after the defeat of the Boyne, a considerable army, as well as the whole Catholic population, recognised James as King. The French officers employed in Ireland during the three

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previous years by Lewis, hating service there, had endeavoured to impress on him the hopelessness of continuing the struggle in that island. Other reasons also led him to believe that a movement in James's interest could be more effectively made in England than in Ireland, and he was assured by the exiled King that most of those who had taken a leading part in the Revolution were so dissatisfied with William that they would hail the return of their lawful Sovereign.

James had, at the request of King Lewis, drawn up a project for the invasion of England. The invading force was to be largely drawn from the 18,000 Irish troops in the French service.* The troops were to assemble at Brest, Belleisle, Rochefort, and Ambleteuse, where every arrangement was to be secretly made for the collection of ships to carry them across the Channel. James urged that everything depended upon the French fleet getting to sea before the English. He proposed to land either near Dover or in the Downs behind the Goodwin Sands, and thence to march upon Rochester, to seize the naval stores there and the men-of-war in the Medway. This, he added, would give him possession of the 'wives, children, and houses of a great number of the officers and sailors of the fleet, which will hinder them from acting against me with the same vigour.' He would thus become 'master of the English fleet, because when they know that I have in my hands all that is most dear to them, they will not fight against my interest.' From Rochester he intended to march on London. If he succeeded in taking that city, 'which has never yet,' he wrote, 'resisted when it was attacked, even by an army of but five or six thousand men, I do not deceive myself when I imagine that the rest of England will not make a long resistance; since it is certain that in London all the men of quality, all the good houses of the nobility, all the rich merchants of the kingdom, have so much interest that I shall have in my hands very good

* Macpherson, vol. i., p. 397.

pledges of their fidelity.'* He was fully alive to the necessity of keeping all knowledge of these preparations from the enemy. He goes on to say: 'That all the matter be as long concealed as possible; that the true design be never named but in the closest councils, and that no questions be publickly asked of places convenient for such an attempt, lest thereby people should form notions prejudicial to the design, and that spying may be prevented.' 'That the secrecy of this affair be entrusted to none but such as are of uncontroverted loyalty; that this thing be never named at St. Germains, even though all the world should talk of it elsewhere.' He was a man of slow understanding in many things, but he thoroughly realized the value of secrecy in military operations, and he understood that the first condition of a successful invasion of England was to secure complete naval supremacy in the Channel. When in 1815 Napoleon set out from Paris to encounter the armies of England and Prussia, his first aim was to bring them separately to battle. And so with Lewis now. His first object was to encounter the navies of England and Holland separately; for if his fleet could but meet that of England before the Dutch fleet should have joined it, his success ought to be assured; and the Dutch fleet, left to its own resources, could not hold the sea against France.

For nearly thirty years Lewis had aimed at creating a fleet to equal those of England and Holland combined. He had spent enormous sums upon his navy, which was now well commanded, efficient, and superior in fighting strength to the navy of England. His agents assured him that the English fleet would not be ready to put to sea before the month of June, and James also persuaded him that Admiral Russell would not oppose the passage across the Channel of the army which was to reinstate the Stewart dynasty. Lewis, however, wishing to be on the safe side, laid his

* These projects by James, which are given in Macpherson, vol. i., p. 398, etc., are very interesting, and should be instructive reading to those who find it convenient to deny the possibility of an invasion.

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plans so as to have the whole naval strength of his kingdom concentrated in the Channel long before the Dutch fleet should put to sea, for in previous years the junction of the two fleets had not taken place before summer. It was confidently expected that De Tourville's fleet of about seventy-five ships of the line would be collected in the Channel by the beginning of April, and would be fully competent to destroy any English fleet which it might encounter.

There were, however, many risks to be faced, which Lewis forgot or ignored in the delightful contemplation of the expected naval victory. An invasion of England, followed by the restoration of James, would be, he felt, the most effective checkmate to the Grand Alliance; for William, reduced to his former position of Stadtholder, could no longer take the lead, and without his guiding hand it would soon tumble in pieces. It was arranged between James and Lewis that the invading army should consist of about 20,000 men, the strength recommended by Marlborough, half to be French, and half to be drawn from the Irish troops in France. James was to command the army, with the veteran Marshal de Bellefonds under him. These troops and a fleet of some 300 transports were secretly collected during the month of March in the ports of Normandy, between Havre and La Hogue, and hoped to land on the south coast of England early in April.*

Whilst Lewis was thus occupied in preparations for the invasion of England, William, ignorant of his designs, was on his side making every arrangement for a descent upon the French coast, hoping thereby to create a diversion in favour of his intended operations in Flanders. It would seem that his first intention had been to attack Dunkirk, whose unfinished fortifications offered many openings for a successful assault, but the enemy got wind of this project, and at once put the place in so thorough a state of defence

* Campbell's 'Naval History,' vol. ii., p. 443. Dalrymple, Part II., Book VII.

that all hope of taking it by surprise had to be abandoned. However, the idea of a descent somewhere on the coast of Normandy was persevered in.*

It is a strange coincidence that whilst these preparations were going forward on both sides of the Channel neither King knew of the other's intentions. It was not until late in April that Mary's Council realized the seriousness of the danger which threatened.† The information was first obtained from letters between De Tourville and some of his agents in England, which were taken in a privateer wrecked on the Goodwin Sands. Mary's Council urged the naval Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Russell, to use all possible despatch in getting the fleet ready for sea. The Dutch were likewise urged forward in their preparations, for it was hoped that the combined navies might early in the year have undisputed command of the Channel. A body of troops was held in readiness to embark in transports then fitting out in the Thames; many new ships were built, and every available man-of-war was put in commission. The utmost activity prevailed in our dockyards, and orders were sent to all our squadrons abroad to assemble in the Channel with the least possible delay. No expense was spared, and powder, stores, and provisions were lavishly supplied.

* See *post*, p. 265.

† Ranke, vol. v., p. 46.

CHAPTER LXXII.

MARLBOROUGH DISMISSED FROM ALL HIS OFFICES.

William, well aware that he is surrounded by enemies, is determined to keep command of the Army in the hands of foreigners, as he distrusts the loyalty of English officers—Mary quarrels with Anne, and Marlborough is disgraced the following morning — Admiral Russell takes his part.

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WILLIAM had been for some time gradually realizing that traitors to a hereditary sovereign could be equally disloyal to an elected king. This discovery naturally threw him more than ever into the arms of the foreign adventurers who had come to seek their fortunes in wealthy England. Them he could trust implicitly, for as soldiers of fortune and strangers in a foreign land they were entirely dependent upon him, both for advancement and riches. They could expect nothing from the English nation except through their master's influence, and the lands and highly paid offices which he had bestowed upon them could be at any moment taken back. Knowing the character of the men who had helped to make him King, he felt that they would not hesitate to depose him if they believed the change to be advisable in the interests of England; but though he avoided employing English Generals, he was compelled to select Englishmen to be his Ministers, because he knew how impossible it would be for foreigners to administer the affairs of the country. Indeed, he displayed great magnanimity towards those suspected of hostility to his person and Government, and for years

continued to employ men whom he knew to be Jacobites at heart. He was too indifferent to what his courtiers might think of him to punish mere abuse of himself and his friends. William had many faults, but envy, hatred, and malice were for the most part foreign to his nature. In mind he was essentially liberal, and he cared nothing for the petty ambitions of party politicians, or for the quarrels and jealousies of courtiers. To him Whigs and Tories were alike, provided that they served him well. He did not exact nor did he expect from them the fervent loyalty of the Cavalier; he was content to wait until his Government should have been for some years well established, to obtain the goodwill of his English subjects. He knew that they disliked his Dutch favourites in spite of their Protestantism, but he also knew that they detested French Roman Catholics. He never sought for information against those in office, even when he believed them to be in correspondence with James; and knowing, as he certainly did, that many of his Ministers, as well as Marlborough and Russell, were in constant communication with St. Germains, he nevertheless continued to employ them, and had the sagacity to appear, at least, to trust them. But he would not give high commands in the army to Englishmen. James lost his crown through the defection of his army, and his army through the defection of Marlborough, and William felt that if in his turn the army failed him, he too would be ruined. He consequently determined to keep it entirely in his own hands, employing only Dutch officers in high commands. They had been trained in the wars which for the last score of years William had been waging against France. They were his friends, his comrades in arms, and his countrymen, and it was only natural that he should give the preference to men of tried military capacity and of undoubted devotion to his person rather than to untried English officers of doubtful loyalty. The following lines explained why it was that William preferred his own countrymen for high commands:

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'We blame the King that he relies too much
On strangers, Germans, Huguenots and Dutch,
And seldom does his great affairs of State,
To English councillors communicate.
The fact might very well be answered thus:
He has so often been betrayed by us,
He must have been a madman to rely,
On English gentlemen's fidelity.
For (laying other arguments aside),
This thought might mortify our English pride,
That foreigners have faithfully obeyed him,
And none but Englishmen have e'er betrayed him.'*

He had, moreover, been educated in the superstition that no military talent was to be found outside the stiff and formal armies of Europe, trained in that methodical system of warfare practised on the Continent. Few English officers had had this training, and William consequently had no opinion of them as leaders in the field. The French Ambassador, writing to his Court, says of them: 'They are even ignorant of the smallest rules of war, and except a few officers who have seen active service in France and in Holland, the great bulk of them do not know even the first principles of the articles of war.'†

But his attitude in this respect was keenly criticised whenever he was compelled to ask Parliament for supplies of men and money, and insulting attacks were made upon him. Upon one occasion a member said that 'one of the plagues of Egypt had fallen upon England, where the croak of frogs was to be heard everywhere from the palace to the cottage.' It is certain that, impassive and phlegmatic as William was, he deeply resented the attacks upon his countrymen.

In his campaigns he had always been accustomed to deal with armies made up of contingents from many countries,

* Defoe's 'Trueborn Englishman.'

† Barillon to Lewis XIV. of 9, 12, 1688. This might have been written with truth of the army which we sent to the Crimea in 1854, and even of our army subsequently, until public opinion compelled its reform.

and commanded by officers of various nationalities. He could not therefore understand why English soldiers, more than others, should object to serve under foreigners; nor was it intelligible to him why Englishmen should entertain so strong a prejudice against all men born outside their own islands. It is curious that these sentiments should exist even to-day, seeing that few nations in the last thousand years have been longer ruled by foreign kings. As late as the last century we had two who did not even speak English.

Whilst William could command the services of many foreign Generals of experience, his choice of English commanders was extremely limited. Marlborough was now the only English soldier of any note, and to him he was certainly under the deepest obligations. But as yet Marlborough was only known as a successful commander amongst his own countrymen, and, except during the recent expedition to Cork, he had hitherto only served in subordinate positions. The fact that whatever he undertook succeeded, and that wherever he commanded fortune smiled upon his dashing activity, intensified the jealous dislike of the King's Dutch officers, and William certainly allowed his partiality for them to weigh heavily against Marlborough. Had his correspondence with James been the only bar to his employment, the only cause of dislike and the only reason why he should be disgraced, imprisoned and neglected, it may be assumed that he would have been employed, as well as many others who were also playing a double game. But there were other reasons, the strongest being the unlimited influence which he and his wife exercised over the Princess Anne. Besides, it is not impossible that William—the unsuccessful commander—may have shared in some measure the dislike and jealousy which the Ginkels, Bentincks and Schombergs entertained for the one able and successful commander whom England possessed.

Meanwhile the breach between the two royal sisters increased with time, and at length ended in a serious explosion. Anne was at Court one evening early in January, when the

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Queen attacked her for making an allowance of £1,000 a year to Lady Marlborough from her Parliamentary annuity. The dispute rose high, and Mary was enraged at having her authority disputed. She rated her sister in unmeasured terms, or, as Anne describes it, she began 'to pick quarrels,' and even talked of reducing the Parliamentary annuity by one half.* But strong as was the Queen's determination to assert her authority, she could make no impression upon Anne's obstinacy, and the open defiance of her power provoked her to such a degree that she persuaded the King to dismiss Marlborough from all his Court and army employments, believing that his disgrace would necessarily lead to a separation between the Princess and her objectionable Lady-in-Waiting.

$\frac{10}{20}$ J, 169$\frac{1}{2}$. The blow was struck the day after the above-mentioned altercation. Marlborough was in waiting that morning as Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and, according to custom, had handed the King his shirt as he dressed. William's manner towards him was as usual, and as soon as this important duty had been performed Marlborough introduced Lord George Hamilton to the Royal presence. But before a couple of hours had elapsed Lord Nottingham, the Secretary of State, brought him an order from the King to sell at

$\frac{10}{20}$ J, 169$\frac{1}{2}$. once all the offices he held, civil and military, as from that date he was to consider himself dismissed from the army and all public employment and forbidden the Court. These orders were as insulting as they were peremptory, and, coming a few hours after her rupture with the Queen, the Princess Anne felt them to be intended as a personal and open affront to her also. William had just reasons of complaint against Marlborough, but he should have remembered his services at the Revolution, in Flanders, and in Ireland. These services, however, were ignored, and Colonel Tollemache was promoted to fill Marlborough's place. His troop of Life Guards was given to Lord Colchester; his regiment, now the Royal Fusiliers, was

* Letter from Anne to Sarah, pp. 83, 84, of 'The Conduct.'

bestowed upon Lord George Hamilton; and his post of Gentleman of the Bedchamber was filled by Lord Lansdowne. In accordance with the custom of the times, he received, however, a round sum down from each of his successors in the offices of which he was deprived.

It is much to Admiral Russell's credit that he had the courage to upbraid William for his ungenerous treatment of one who was not only the foremost English soldier, but who had, in fact, 'set the Crown on his head.'* It was in vain that he pressed the King for some reason for this conduct; he only incurred his Majesty's displeasure without in any way benefiting his friend. Strange to say, Marlborough's offences, whatever they may have been, were not visited upon his relatives; for one of them, Charles Churchill, was promoted to be a first-lieutenant in the army shortly afterwards.† George Churchill, however, resigned his position and commission in the navy because of the ill-treatment his brother Lord Marlborough had met with from the King.

23, 1, 169½.

* Burnet, vol. ii., p. 92.

† Hatton Correspondence of January 28, 1692, vol. i., p. 170.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE KING'S REASONS FOR THE DISMISSAL OF MARLBOROUGH.

Many theories started on the subject at the time—Sarah ordered to leave the Court—Anne leaves in consequence—Sarah wishes to quit Anne's service, but does not do so, at the urgent request of the Princess.

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THE cause of Marlborough's abrupt dismissal from office has remained for a long time unexplained, but with the fuller information now before us it is not difficult to penetrate the mystery.* When Russell pleaded with William on behalf of his friend, the King was fully aware that, as far as treasonable correspondence with James was concerned, Russell was quite as guilty as Marlborough himself. It was not, therefore, solely on this account that he was dismissed; neither was it because of a desire on the part of the King to comply with Mary's wishes. It is more likely that he thought it advisable to make an example of one of those whom he knew to be engaged in plotting against him, and, by selecting Marlborough, to show his faithless servants that the highest services rendered at the Revolution would not screen the guilty from his wrath. In Marlborough also he chose the man who had made himself specially obnoxious both by personal abuse of him as an individual and by constant depreciation of him as King. It was but natural that William should in his heart resent Marlborough's

* Lord Hardwicke, in a note on Burnet (vol. ii., p. 85), says the real cause of Marlborough's disgrace was never cleared up.

conduct in this respect, and we know from himself that he did resent it deeply. His Dutch friends also, to further their own ends, did their best to fan his wrath. Moreover, he must have calculated that, in consequence of Marlborough's disgrace, Anne would be compelled to dismiss from her household the wife of a man forbidden to appear within the precincts of the Court. This was a consummation devoutly wished for by himself and by the Queen.

It is a melancholy truth that success breeds envy and detraction. Marlborough's rivals, both English and Dutch, sought to disparage his achievements by attributing them to good luck; for it is the way of incompetent men to accuse the able of being fortunate.* But, making every allowance for the envy and hostility of this class, it remains a curious fact that, courteous, affable, and pleasing as Marlborough was to all with whom he came in contact, he yet had no party and few stanch adherents at Court, or even in the army. He had a few good friends, such as the Duke of Shrewsbury, Admiral Russell, and Lords Nottingham and Godolphin, who always did their best to promote his interests, and were anxious to help him now that he was in trouble. He had a host of acquaintances, but had always been too self-contained to have many intimate friends, especially after his marriage. In an age of jovial festivity he was not a convivial man, and his temperate and simple habits were a sort of standing reproach to the gambling and drinking men around him. His frugality had already earned for him a reputation of penuriousness, which we are told was often the subject of ridicule at Court. It was complained, too, that he never entertained—a circumstance which was not calculated to promote his popularity with his contemporaries, devoted as they were to the pleasures of the table. It was also said that his style of living was on a very humble scale, more suited to a man with an income of £1,000 a year than to one as rich as he was. Many, therefore, besides those who coveted his places

* Napoleon.

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at Court or in the army, rejoiced at his fall; whilst to others, such as Portland, who envied his reputation, it was a source of triumph. Few indeed, excepting his personal friends, Godolphin and Russell, seemed to grieve over it.*

Mary had long distrusted Marlborough and his wife—a feeling that was fostered in her by Edward Villiers, her Master of the Horse, who hated them cordially. In short, everything the Marlboroughs did or said that could be made to tell against them was carefully reported and exaggerated. At the same time, it is strange that two clever people bred up at Court and familiar with its ways, who knew how essential it is to stand well with the Sovereign and with the Sovereign's favourites, should so utterly spoil their game by allowing temper to override judgment and discretion when they talked of William in society. They took no trouble to ingratiate themselves with the members of the Villiers family, then the most influential people at Court. One sister, 'the squint-eyed Elizabeth,' was William's acknowledged mistress; and another had married his favourite, Bentinck. The brother Edward, afterwards created Earl of Jersey as the price of his sister's dishonour, had long been in Mary's service, and still enjoyed her confidence. The whole influence of this family was united with that of the King's favourites, Portland and Sidney, to injure the Marlboroughs, and to inflame William and Mary against them. Thus, had there been no other reason for Marlborough's long exclusion from employment after his disgrace, the bitter animosity entertained towards him by a clique of courtiers who had constant access to the King by day and night is sufficient to account for it. Sarah's temper had made Elizabeth Villiers a bitter enemy; and Portland's jealousy of Marlborough having grown into active personal hatred, both he and the King's mistress in-

* Historical MSS., Appendix to Seventh Report, p. 220. For some years he possessed but three very modest-looking coats, one of which was strictly reserved for the festivities upon the birthdays of the King, the Queen, and the Princess Anne.

cited William against this ambitious couple, and denounced their ingratitude and avarice with the most bitter invectives.

In those days no man could long maintain his power who was at enmity with the King's mistress. Her favour was quite as important to the courtiers at Whitehall as the interest and good wishes of the Zenana have always been for the Eastern Vizir. It was not, however, until Mary, smarting under the irritation of her open rupture with Anne the previous evening, had pressed William to dismiss Marlborough, that he finally resolved to do so. Two and a half years afterwards Lord Shrewsbury, in a letter to the King, when pleading for Marlborough's forgiveness and re-employment, refers to William's cause of complaint as embracing some points of a nature too tender for him to advise upon, and of which he said the King only could judge; 'but if those could be accommodated to your Majesty's satisfaction,' etc.* From this it seems plain that he was not disgraced for any fault that could be regarded as a crime in the eyes of the law.

$\frac{27}{7}$-$\frac{6}{7}$, 1694.

For many days the great topic of London gossip was the news of Marlborough's disgrace, and his dismissal filled the pages of every news-letter. Endless were the guesses as to the cause of his disgrace. Sir C. Lyttelton, who states that his information is derived from Lords Caermarthen, Nottingham, and from Marlborough himself, says: 'All agreed in this, y^{t} y^{e} King, besides other things of high misdemeanour, said he had held correspondence with K^{g} James.'† Evelyn, who disliked Marlborough, states that he was dismissed 'for his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers.' It is to be noted that even at this period of his career charges of this sort were associated with his name, but such accusations were commonly made against

$\frac{9}{19}$ 2, 169$\frac{1}{2}$.

* Shrewsbury Correspondence.

† This letter, addressed to Viscount Hatton, is given at p. 170, vol. ii., of Camden Society edition of Hatton Correspondence.

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nearly all leading public men, and, indeed, the echo of them is to be heard even in our own days. Most of the conjectures as to the cause of Marlborough's sudden dismissal were at least partly founded upon his openly-expressed condemnation of Dutch favouritism, and upon his alleged endeavour to excite discontent in the army. Some lay stress upon the fact that it was he who induced the officers to complain to William of his neglecting them, particularly since 'the reduction of Ireland.' The Jacobites were especially spiteful in their abuse of the fallen courtier, for at this time many of their agents still suspected that his plots and schemes were in Anne's interest rather than in her father's. Every sort of damaging story was told against him at Court. He was reported to have said that he had quitted James because he would not govern according to law, and that he would now leave William, because he seemed determined to follow in James's footsteps. In a letter to Anne, the Queen says she 'need not repeat the cause he has given the King to do what he has done, nor his unwillingness at all times to come to such extremities, though people do deserve it.' From this it is evident that Anne and her Lady-in-Waiting were both acquainted with the alleged cause.

A close and intelligent observer of these events at the English Court has left us a series of valuable and interesting despatches concerning them. Being the representative of the Elector Frederick III. of Prussia, he was allowed to see perhaps more of the inner life at Kensington and Hampton Court than fell to the lot of most foreign Ministers. He reports to his Royal master, towards the end of January, that William, referring to Marlborough's disgrace, said that he had been treated so infamously by that nobleman that had he not been King he would have felt it necessary to demand personal satisfaction.* The Prussian Minister adds—evidently repeating the gossip of the Court antechamber—that all Marlborough's misfortunes sprang from

$\frac{26}{5}$-$\frac{1}{2}$, 1692.

* Bonnet to the Elector: Ranke vol. vi., p. 177.

an excessive confidence in his own talents, and from his belief that he could not be done without; that he was extremely angry because he had not been made Master-General of the Ordnance, and that he had pressed upon the attention of the English officers that the chief commands in the army were invariably given to foreigners. He had even gone so far, Mr. Bonnet alleged, as to tell the officers that their only chance of remedying this condition of things was to band themselves together and to refuse, as a body, to obey orders. He also dwelt upon the offensive terms in which Marlborough had often spoken of William, and of his having derided the notion that he was capable of ruling England. Several of the officers who heard Marlborough speak thus—professing friends amongst others—told the King all this two months before the final blow was struck. It was even said that Marlborough wished William to know that he was discontented. His vanity showed itself, Mr. Bonnet stated, in his refusing to go to Flanders unless he were given command of the English troops. The despatch containing all this goes on further to describe the King's and Queen's grievances against Sarah for her great influence over the Princess Anne. Indeed, it was more than hinted that the Lady-in-Waiting was also in the habit of winning largely from her Royal mistress.* William himself said, in a conversation with Lord Nottingham, that he had disgraced Marlborough for sowing dissension and breeding faction in the army, and for holding correspondence with the Court at St. Germains; but, added the King, 'he has rendered such valuable services that I have no wish to push him too hard.'†

In the 'Rough Draught' of 'History of His Own Time' Bishop Burnet states that William told him he had good

* The Princess, it was rumoured, was pressed for money owing to her debts, which already amounted to £50,000, of which some £15,000 or £16,000 was said to be due to Lady Marlborough as gambling debts. Ranke, vol. vi., p. 177.

† Vol. xi., No. 11, of Tracts in Athenæum Library.

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reason for knowing that Marlborough had made his peace with James, and was then in correspondence with France; that he had done his utmost to create a faction in the army and in the nation against the Dutch; that he and his wife had alienated the affections of the Princess Anne from Queen Mary, who had striven to remain on the most sisterly terms with the Princess, but had not bought Anne's favourite, Lady Marlborough, as she deemed it would have been beneath her dignity to have done so.*

In her 'Conduct,' the Duchess ignores any cause of complaint that William may have had against her husband. She tries to persuade us, that his disgrace was solely the result of a Court intrigue set on foot with a view to force the Princess Anne to dismiss her. As far as she tells this story it seems to be absolutely correct. But it is evident that the violent quarrel between the sisters on the evening I have referred to was the immediate cause of her husband's disgrace the following morning. It was the last drop which made the cup of Mary's wrath flow over. The suddenness with which the dismissal was determined upon, and the abruptness with which it was carried out, strongly corroborate this view. In support of her explanation, the Duchess says that when Lady Fitzharding had some time before endeavoured to persuade her to side with the Court on the subject of Anne's annuity, her dear friend had warned her 'that if she would not put an end to measures so disagreeable to the King and Queen, it would certainly be the ruin of her Lord, and consequently of all her family.'†

There is reason to believe that the discovery made by William, of a very important military secret having been communicated to the enemy through Lady Tyrconnel, had also something to do with Lord Marlborough's dismissal.

* This 'Rough Draft' is in the Bodleian Library; it is curious to note the difference between it and the published book on all points dealing with the Marlboroughs. The Bishop altered his original draught to please them, as he was on very intimate terms with them when the final draught was prepared for the press.

† 'Conduct,' pp. 30, 31.

It was naturally assumed that Sarah corresponded with her sister in France, and, although it is possible that she never told Lady Tyrconnel any news of importance, it was generally believed at the time that secrets had reached Lewis through this channel. It is tolerably certain that, as already mentioned in Chapter LXXI., an early attack upon Dunkirk was one of William's projects for the campaign of 1692. Horace Walpole tells us that, as a boy, he heard his father and his father's contemporaries repeat the following anecdote on this subject: William had resolved upon the operation because he had good reason to believe that Dunkirk was entirely unprepared to resist a sudden attack; but success would depend upon the secrecy with which it was prepared, and the suddenness with which it was delivered. As Marlborough was to take part in the undertaking, he was entrusted with the secret, which was imparted to none but himself and the two Lords Caermarthen and Shrewsbury. The project had, however, to be abandoned, owing to the preparations for defence made by the French—preparations which were evidently due to the secret having been betrayed. William, much incensed at this breach of faith, questioned the three lords to whom only he had mentioned the intended attack as to whether they had told anyone of it. Marlborough's answer was: 'Upon my honour, sir, I told it to nobody but to my wife.' 'I did not tell it to mine,' was the King's rejoinder. It was commonly supposed Sarah had informed her sister, by whom it was communicated to James, and through him to the French Court. The story is corroborated by so many contemporary writers that its main features may be accepted as true.* In another version we are told that a French

* Burnet, vol. ii., p. 90. A note by Lord Dartmouth states that Lord Nottingham had told him this story. Carlton, in his memoirs, tells the same story in reference to a projected attack the same year upon Brest, but he evidently mistakes the name of the place, although he is correct as to the betrayal of the secret. He says, the secret

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officer, commanding in some important outwork of Dunkirk, had been bribed to betray his post to the English, and that when the secret leaked out the would-be traitor was executed.*

29-1, 1692. Towards the end of January the Princess received an anonymous letter informing her that Marlborough's disgrace was but the prelude to his attachment for high treason. It warned her that Lady Fitzharding was a spy upon all her doings and sayings, which she retailed at Kensington, and wound up by stating that Anne would soon be compelled to dismiss her favourite lady.† Lady Marlborough's haughty imprudence soon afforded the Queen a plausible excuse for again calling upon the Princess to take this step. During a couple of weeks after her husband's disgrace she refrained from appearing at Court, but was then, she says, persuaded by her friends—in particular by Godolphin —to attend her mistress to Kensington. It was a strong, indeed an impudent proceeding on her part, and one which enraged the Queen beyond measure. The next day, February 5, Mary wrote to her sister desiring her to dismiss her offending Lady-in-Waiting. She pointed out that as long as she remained in Anne's household Marlborough, though forbidden the Court, was afforded a just 'pretence of being where he ought not to be.' She intimated that it was only from a fond consideration of Anne's condition —she was then with child—that she had not turned Sarah out of the palace the preceding night, and upbraided Anne for the want of civility and of proper respect shown by this conduct. She does not, she says, require an immediate answer, 'because I would not have you give a rash one.'

Feb. 2, 1692.

'having been entrusted to a female politician on land, it was soon discovered to the enemy.' At p. 30 of 'Remarks upon the Account of the Conduct,' etc., there is a full detail of this matter, the author adding, 'He had the narrative from a person of the highest consideration in that and the succeeding reigns.'—Lediard, vol. i., p. 75.

* Lord Ailesbury, in his memoirs, p. 283, asserts this to be a fact.

† Coxe, vol. i., p. 48.

She intimated her intention to pay Anne a visit the following day before the customary daily card-playing began, for she could not join in the Princess's game whilst Lady Marlborough was one of the party. Her Majesty then goes on to say, in allusion to Sarah's dismissal: 'Though it be hard, it is not unreasonable; but what has ever been practised.' Anne was furious, and her attendant indignant. When the Queen first reached London she had shown Sarah much kindness, and, as the latter asserts, 'did me many honours, which would have engaged some people to fix the foundation of their future fortune in her favour; and that there was no person more likely than I to rise upon this bottom, if I could have been tempted to break the inviolable laws of friendship.'* She goes on to remark very justly that as the difference in age between the sisters was small, there was not 'the least probability that the Princess should outlive the King and Queen.' Her attachment to Anne was consequently not the result of a deep calculation of chances on her part.

Anne, in her reply to the Queen's letter, intimated that she did not mean to part with Lady Marlborough, and this led to a message, conveyed to her by the Lord Chamberlain, forbidding that lady to remain 'any longer at the Cockpit.' The result was that early in March Anne quitted the town residence which Charles II. had bought and given to her on her marriage, and went with Lady Marlborough to live at Sion House, which the Duke of Somerset lent her. Sarah assures us that from the beginning of the quarrel she wished to leave Anne's household, and often entreated the Princess to allow her to do so. She felt that the Queen's enmity with Anne was solely due to her presence at the Cockpit, and she desired to remove this cause of quarrel by leaving the Princess's service. This is corroborated in one of Anne's letters to Sarah, written in May, in which she mentions having told the Bishop of Worcester: 'You had several times desired you might go

* 'The Conduct,' p. 53.

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from me.' She adds, 'But I beg it again for Christ Jesus's sake that you would never name it any more to me. For be assured, if you should ever do so cruel a thing as to leave me, from that moment I shall never enjoy one quiet hour. And should you do it without asking my consent (which if I ever give you may I never see the face of Heaven) I will shut myself up and never see the world more, but live where I may be forgotten by human kind.'* In several other letters the Princess writes in a similar strain imploring her favourite 'for God's sake' never again to mention the possibility of leaving her, and assuring her that the Prince entirely shares her views on this point. Lady Marlborough tells us that whenever she hinted at leaving Anne's service she was met with passionate outbursts 'of tenderness and weeping' from her mistress.

At Sion House Anne gave birth to a child, which only lived a few hours. She immediately informed the Queen, who paid her a formal visit. Her greeting to Anne was: 'I have made the first step by coming to you, and I now expect you should make the next by removing my Lady Marlborough.' Anne's answer was that she had never disobeyed the Queen except in this one matter, 'which she hoped would some time or other appear as unreasonable to her Majesty as it did to her.' The Queen rose and left immediately.† The two sisters never met again, although some letters passed between them.

When strong enough to move, after a short visit to Bath, Anne finally took up her residence in Berkeley House, Piccadilly.‡

* 'Conduct,' p. 75. † *Ibid.*, p. 70.

‡ It stood where Devonshire House now is. Anne took it for three years at £600 per annum.—Luttrell's Diary, 19, 4, 1692.

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MARLBOROUGH SENT TO THE TOWER.

Invasion threatened—Marlborough sent to the Tower.

WHEN William went to Holland this year he left Mary with full authority to govern in his absence. General Tollemache accompanied him as Lieutenant-General — the position intended for Marlborough previous to his sudden disgrace. The force left at home for the protection of the kingdom was dangerously small, owing to William's anxiety to collect a large army in Flanders, and he was consequently filled with anxiety when the Secretary of State informed him that a French invasion was impending.* It is a curious fact that although the preparations made by Lewis for an invasion had been long known to hundreds of Jacobites in England, none had betrayed the secret to the Government or given any information on the subject; indeed, when the news was communicated to Lord Nottingham he declined at first to believe it. The Queen countermanded the embarkation of six regiments intended for Flanders, and ordered six others to be recalled from Ireland and three from Scotland, William at the same time sending back three more under Tollemache. All these battalions were despatched in haste to the southern coast.† The

$\frac{21}{1}$-$\frac{1}{3}$, 1692.

* The troops left at home were eight regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and twelve of Foot, and of these six were under orders for Holland.

† These three regiments from Holland were Selwin's, now the Queen's or West Surrey; Beveridge's, now the West Yorkshire; and

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Dutch Duke of Leinster* was appointed to command the forces in England, the Militia was called out, and camps were formed between Petersfield and Southampton; preparations were made to drive all cattle and horses fifteen miles inland upon the first alarm being given, and every possible arrangement was made to oppose the expected invaders. A general embargo was laid upon all shipping for fifteen days from May 10. Consternation reigned in London, and all looked troubled and anxious, excepting the Jacobites, whose spirits rose with every fresh report from James's headquarters. Everything now pointed to a counter-Revolution. The country was unsettled, none rendered to the new King more than a cold and grudging allegiance, and with the exception of the foreigners in William's service no one seemed anxious for a continuance of his reign. The Government at last became fully alive to the impending danger, and every hour brought them additional information of the Jacobite preparations for civil war. The prospect was so disquieting that Mary thought it advisable to burn her private journals.

William at once despatched Lord Portland with letters and instructions to the Queen. He reached London on the evening of Monday, May 2, and a Cabinet Council met the following day to consider the King's letters. The first result of its deliberations was the issue of warrants for the immediate arrest of Lords Marlborough, Lichfield, Scarsdale, Huntingdon and others. The warrant for the arrest of Marlborough, as entered in the Privy Council books, is dated May 3, and says 'that he was charged with high treason, and for abetting and adhering to his Majesty's enemies.' On May 4, Marlborough was examined by the Council, and he was sent to the Tower on the following day, the warrant for his committal being signed

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Lloyd's, since disbanded. They encamped on Southsea Common. Of the six regiments whose embarkation was countermanded, three were Sir J. Lanier's, now the King's Dragoon Guards, Lord Portland's, and Colonel Langston's.

* Meinhardt de Schomberg had been created Duke of Leinster, 3, 3, 1691.

by the Secretary of State, Lord Sydney, who was hostile to him. The guards were doubled in London, mounted sentries patrolled the approaches to Whitehall, and two companies of the train bands were ordered to be under arms every night.* A fortnight earlier hot and cold fits regarding invasion had alternated, but now the scare was general; every citizen went to bed in terror lest the dawn should discover French troops in the streets; Parliament was summoned to meet forthwith; all Roman Catholics were ordered to leave London and its neighbourhood; the Jacobite agents known to be in the City were diligently sought for, and many of them were caught and imprisoned; numerous arrests were made, and houses were searched daily. Surely 'twas 'a very jealous time'!†

No convincing evidence of Marlborough's guilt was produced before the Council, and Lords Devonshire, Bradford and Montagu refused to sign the warrant, scornfully passing it on to the members sitting next to them with undisguised contempt for the whole proceeding.‡ Their reason for this attitude was a just one; the accuser—Robert Young—upon whose evidence the suspected lords were committed, being known as a worthless insolvent of infamous character. On the other hand, the accused lords were known by William to be in constant correspondence with James, and were believed to be dangerous to the public peace. Whether there was or was not technically sufficient evidence to warrant their legal imprisonment is a question; but it is nevertheless certain that at so critical a moment the Government were fully justified in the course they took. The maintenance

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* Letter of Sir C. Lyttelton to Lord Hatton, dated 5, 5, 1692, Camden Society Papers of 1878. Prices went suddenly up in London. The loaf, which had previously cost but ninepence, became a shilling; mutton rose to fivepence, and beef to threepence the pound. See Hatton Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 174. A letter dated 'Pell Mell, April 10, 1692.'

† Letter of Sir C. Lyttelton to Lord Hatton, dated 5, 5, 1692, Camden Society Papers of 1878.

‡ 'Conduct,' p. 62.

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of peace and the safety of the country are considerations superior to all the formalities of law. Marlborough was kept a close prisoner in the Tower, no one being allowed to see him except by order of the Secretary of State. His wife left the Princess Anne at Sion House in order to be near him in town, and she left no means untried to obtain his release. There still exist many orders signed by Lord Nottingham granting her permission to see him in prison, the earliest being dated five days after his committal, and worded 'for this time only.' A Mr. Chudleigh was a frequent visitor ;* the first order of admission given to him was to see Marlborough in presence of a warder 'for this time only.' Later on we find an order addressed to Lord Lucas, the Constable of the Tower, signifying the Queen's pleasure that friends and relations of the prisoners lately committed should have access to them from time to time. They were subsequently allowed to dine together when all dread of invasion had passed away.

Marlborough in the Tower had fewer friends than ever, but his wife makes honourable mention of Lord Bradford, who not only refused to sign the warrant which committed him to prison, but paid him a visit when there. Others kept aloof for fear of injuring their position at Court, and had not even the kindness to visit his wife in her hour of trial and humiliation.† She writes of this with a bitterness strange in one who, having seen much of the world, ought not to have been surprised at its ingratitude.

Marlborough's arrest was extremely mortifying to the Princess Anne. The anger, grief, and anxiety which it occasioned to her favourite found an echo in her heart, and she gave expression to her feelings in the following affectionate letter to his wife : 'I hear Lord Marlborough is sent to the Tower ; and though I am certain they have nothing against him, and expected by your letter it would be so, yet I was

* He was a correspondent of the Earl of Yarmouth's. Historical MSS., Seventh Report, Appendix, p. 535.

† 'Conduct,' p. 62.

struck when I was told of it, for methinks it is a dismal thing to have one's friends sent to that place. I have a thousand melancholy thoughts, and cannot help fearing they should hinder you from coming to me; though how they can do that without making you a prisoner, I cannot imagine. I am just told by pretty good hands that as soon as the wind turns westerly, there will be a guard set upon the Prince and me. If you hear there is any such thing designed, and that 'tis easy to you, pray let me see you before the wind changes, for afterwards one does not know whether they will let one have opportunities of speaking to one another. But let them do what they please, nothing shall ever vex me, so I can have the satisfaction of seeing dear Mrs. Freeman; and I swear I would live on bread and water between four walls with her without repining; for as long as you continue kind, nothing can ever be a real mortification to your faithful Mrs. Morley, who wishes she may never enjoy a moment's happiness in this world or the next if ever she proves false to you.'*

Let us hope that this pious wish was not registered in heaven, for fifteen years later she hated her 'dear Mrs. Freeman' with a bitter hatred. In the same letter Anne refers to the indignities put upon her by order of the King and Queen, because she insisted upon retaining Lady Marlborough in her household against their wishes. Society was given the hint not to call upon the Princess, and she was deprived of her military guard and the other outward marks of respect usually paid to members of the Royal Family.

Marlborough, of course, knew in his heart that his recent correspondence with James rendered him guilty of high treason. But the villain Young accused him of complicity in a plot which had no existence, and he was consequently able to repudiate the charges upon which he had been arrested with the indignation of an innocent and injured man. He appealed to Lord Caermarthen, President of the

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 65.

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Council, although there had never been any intimacy between them.* He wrote: 'Having been informed that it is now publickly discoursed in Westminster Hall to-day, that a letter under my hand was to be produced to the grand jury, to induce them to find a bill against me, I beg leave to assure your lordship, upon my honour and credit, that if any such letter be pretended, it must and will, upon examination, appear so plainly to have been forged, that as it can be of no credit or advantage to the Government, so I doubt not but your lordship's justice will be ready to protect me from so injurious a proceeding, who am,' etc.

He also sent the following appeal to the Earl of Devonshire, then Lord High Steward: 'I am so confident of my innocence, and so convinced, if there be any such letter, that it must appear to be forged, and made use of only to keep me in prison, that I cannot doubt but your lordship will be so kind as to let me find your protection against such a proceeding, which will be a reproach to the Government as well as an injury to Yours,' etc.†

* Caermarthen, like Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and, indeed, like all William's Ministers, was then in correspondence with James.

† Coxe, vol. i., pp. 64, 65.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.—MARLBOROUGH'S RELEASE FROM THE TOWER.

French preparations for the invasion of England—James issues a Proclamation to the English People—Admiral Russell—He gains the battle of La Hogue—Young's accusations against Marlborough—Death of Marlborough's boy Charles—Released from the Tower.

WHILST these events were taking place at home, active preparations were in progress on the other side of the Channel, where nothing was talked of but the invasion of England. Every port in Normandy was alive with rollicking Irish musketeers and busy French sailors. Impoverished soldiers of fortune—and there were many serving with the Irish Brigade—looked eagerly across the Channel in anticipation of the rich plunder which London would afford. Everything was, however, retarded by bad weather. The naval preparations were not up to time; but James found the military arrangements completed when, with Berwick and De Bellefonds, he reached Caen about the middle of April. The recent storms had damaged the ships, head winds prevented the embarkation of the troops, and the squadron under Count d'Estrée, which was expected from Toulon, could not get through the Straits of Gibraltar. This was a serious loss, for these ships were required to convoy the transports across the Channel, whilst the great fleet under De Tourville was to engage that of Admiral Russell. Notwithstanding these unfortunate delays, the French were confident of success. 'How happy shall I

April 4, 1692.

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be,' writes a French colonel, as he was about to embark, 'when I date my first letter from on board ship! the next will perhaps follow dated from the English shore; a third, please God, from London.'*

The preparations for the crossing were eagerly pushed forward by the exiled King himself, nor were the Jacobites in England wanting in zeal and activity. In Lancashire, the home of so many old Roman Catholic families, a military force was being organized, and James was assured that a formidable body of devoted soldiers would join him as soon as he landed.† He issued a proclamation which was freely distributed throughout Great Britain, assuring Protestants of all denominations that they had no cause to dread his return on the score of religion, and pardoning all, with the exception of a few specially named, who had proved unfaithful to him. Lord Churchill was amongst the exceptions, but James took care to inform him that this was done lest his true sentiments should become known. James assured him that he not only pardoned him, but would regard him henceforward as his chief agent, by which title he was generally styled in the subsequent Jacobite correspondence. The following entry relating to this critical period occurs in James's Memoirs: 'The correspondence with my Lord Churchill was still kept up, for thō so much former treachery, and so little other proofs of a change than words and protestations, made his intentions lyable to suspicion; yet he put so plausible a face upon his reasons and actions, that if they were not accompanied with truth and sincerity, they had at least a specious appearance of fair and honest dealing; and had this reason, above all others, to be credited, that not only he, but his . . .‡ (wife?), was out

Aug. 4, 1692.

* A paper in the French War Office quoted by Ranke, vol. v., p. 46.

† A number of officers who had arrived from St. Germains to raise troops were arrested through information supplied by Mr. J. Macky. 'Memoirs of the Secret Services of J. Macky, Esq.,' 1733, p. v.

‡ This blank is in the original MS. I presume the omitted word is 'wife.'

of favour with the Prince of Orange, and reap'd no other benefit from their past infidelitys than the infamy of having committed them,' etc.* But in every reference to Marlborough in these interesting memoirs it is easy to read between the lines, and to see that James was quite aware that he was merely being played with for interested motives by Marlborough, Russell, and Godolphin. In fact, stupid as he was, he saw through them, and fully comprehended their game, though he could not afford to tell them so.

Marlborough's friend, Admiral Russell, was as unprincipled, sordid, and self-seeking as most of the public men of the day. It was commonly said that only those who bribed and flattered him could expect consideration at his hands, and that he cared for his own interests to the exclusion of James's claims upon his loyalty, and of William's upon his gratitude. Like the proverbial Irishman, he was against all authority. Unfaithful to James at the Revolution, he threw in his lot with William and Mary, whom he subsequently deserted; but though he again swore allegiance to his old master, yet he would not serve him when the crucial moment came. He never rose to distinction or gained a leading position. Though a pronounced Whig, he was yet in James's confidence and in close communication with him. He was now pre-eminently the man upon whose conduct the fate of England depended, for he was in command of the Channel fleet, which alone could save the country from invasion, the army in England being too small to do so. Should he draw off without fighting, or be defeated in an engagement, a French army would land forthwith on our shores. The military position was very much the same as it was immediately before the battle of Trafalgar. Can anything be more unwise than to trust the fate of the country to the issue of one battle upon that most unstable element, the sea?

At this crisis the Admiral commanding the Channel fleet and our foremost English General were both in close corre-

* Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 476.

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spondence with James II., who was in command of a hostile army encamped on the opposite French shore. Although Russell had promised James that the English ships should not get in the way of the French fleet, he nevertheless impressed upon him that if he did happen to encounter the enemy's ships he should feel compelled to give them battle, even though James himself were on board. James justly thought that these promises were cleverly devised to suit Russell's own purposes, and to make him safe whatever might be the result of the operation. But he was in no position to question or dissent, for his only chance lay in a frank acceptance of the schemes worked out for him by untrustworthy conspirators. At the same time, the poor dethroned King allowed himself to feel very confident, for everything looked like success. He was too sanguine, however. The elements combined to ruin his well-laid plans, or, as the Protestants put it, the Almighty interposed with storms and winds to save England from Popery. When the time for action came, everything went wrong. De Tourville's fleet, which was ready for sea, was kept weather-bound in harbour for nearly six weeks, whilst the same wind enabled the English men-of-war to assemble at their appointed stations in the Channel. The delay also afforded the English and Dutch fleets time to unite. Admiral De Tourville was still smarting under the abuse heaped upon him for having failed to follow up his success at Beachy Head. His orders were to seek out and fight Russell's fleet, and this he was determined to do, whatever might be the strength of his enemy or the chances in his favour.

In no previous year had the junction between the Dutch and English fleets taken place before the beginning of summer. Lewis had consequently assumed that De Tourville would be able to engage the English alone, and believed that his superior fleet would be sure of victory. Hence the positive orders sent to his Admiral. When he subsequently learnt that the Allied fleets had united, he strove

in vain to countermand those orders; but the French fleet had put to sea before his messengers reached the coast. Meanwhile the gallant De Tourville, coming up with the English and Dutch fleets, which, together, outnumbered his nearly two to one, attacked them boldly. With such odds against him he was, of course, easily defeated, and, though he lost no ships in the action, being closely pursued the following day, he lost the best part of his fleet.* In this battle Marlborough's corpulent brother, Captain George Churchill, proved himself a hard fighter and a skilful seaman. 19, 5, 1692.

From Cape La Hogue the unfortunate James witnessed the battle which destroyed his hopes. His proposal had been that the French fleet and the transports carrying the invading army should set sail in March; but, fortunately for England, Lewis was behindhand in his preparations. Had James been able to set sail for England immediately on reaching the coast, it may be safely asserted that he could have landed his army without serious hindrance. The French fleet in the Channel was at that time superior to the English, as the Dutch had not yet joined; so that if Russell had fought he would in all probability have been defeated. There were then, also, so few troops available for the defence of London that, after a feeble show of resistance, James would probably have entered Whitehall in triumph. A considerable amount of popular sentiment would have been exhibited in his favour, and the King would have 'had his own again.' All this must have seemed not only possible, but probable, to those in the Jacobite secrets. It is not greatly to be wondered at, therefore, that when the standard of private honour and public morality was so debased, men like Marlborough,

* Some of De Tourville's fleet were absent at the time of the battle. See Campbell's 'Naval History,' vol. ii., note on p. 447. On board the English fleet of 63 ships of the line were 28,570 men and 4,530 guns. The Dutch fleet of 36 ships had 13,051 men and 2,614 guns. In all, Russell's fleet consisted of 99 ships of the line, with 41,621 men and 7,144 guns. Russell's flagship was the *Britannia*.

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Russell, Godolphin, and others, should wish to secure themselves from James's vengeance in the event of a restoration, which seemed so near at hand.

The victory of La Hogue crippled the naval power of France for the remainder of Lewis XIV.'s reign, and saved England from invasion, as did the greater battle of Trafalgar in this century. How different would have been our history had we lost either or both of those battles! Our victory of La Hogue may be said to have been the first great step towards the naval supremacy which Rodney's victory, nearly a century after, secured us. It has been no easy matter to maintain it, and more than once we nearly lost it. Thanks, however, to Duncan and our great Nelson we won, and we are still regarded as supreme upon the seas; let us hope that our future record may always be as glorious as our past. We have now put nearly all our eggs into one basket, so that the destruction of the fleet would lay England open to invasion, and London to capture; for in these days of Ironclads it takes at least three years to build a first-class ship of war, and to make the enormous guns required to arm it.

The public rejoicings over the victory of La Hogue found Marlborough still in the Tower. No peer could be legally arrested for high treason except upon the sworn depositions of at least two credible witnesses, but the perjuries of Young and Pearson had enabled the Government to seem at least to conform to this requirement of the law in Marlborough's case. Young had not only forged some treasonable letters in the General's name, but he also fabricated a scheme for the restoration of James, to which he attached the signatures of Lords Salisbury, Marlborough, Cornbury, the Bishop of Rochester, and others.* Young confessed

* 'A Relation of the Late Wicked Contrivance of Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young against the Lives of Several Persons by forging an Association under their Hands.' In the Savoy, 1692. This is by Dr. Spratt, Bishop of Rochester. In 1700 this Young was hanged for another offence.

afterwards that he had obtained Marlborough's seal and signature to copy by applying to him under the guise of a country gentleman who wished for the character of a servant lately in Marlborough's employment. Dr. Spratt, the Bishop of Rochester, soon proved these documents to be nothing but impudent forgeries, and the whole plot to be a conspiracy of Young's, concocted in order to obtain money as an informer.

Sarah alleged that he was instigated to bring forward these charges against her husband by Lord Romney (Henry Sidney), William's only English favourite.* Certainly he was no friend to Marlborough, but even in that age of conspiracies and intrigues it is difficult to believe that any gentleman could descend to so infamous a mode of attack even against his worst enemy. The forged papers were hidden in a flower-pot at the Bishop's palace in Bromley, Kent,† with the intention that they should be found there by the King's officers who were sent by the Council to search the house. Had they been discovered there, the case would have gone hardly with the accused; for when they were shown to Marlborough he pronounced them to be so exactly like his own handwriting as to have deceived himself, had he not been certain that he knew nothing whatever of the pretended plot.

The forged 'Association' ran as follows:

'That we whose names were subscribed should solemnly promise, in the presence of God, to contribute our utmost Assistance towards King James's recovery of his kingdoms. That to this end, we would have ready to meet him, at His Landing, 30,000 men well armed. That we would seize upon the person of the Princess of Orange, Dead or Alive; and take care that some strong Garrison should be forthwith delivered into His Hands: And furnish Him with a Considerable sum of Money for the support of His Army.—

* 'The Conduct,' etc.

† This palace exists no longer, but the grounds where it stood are still kept up as a gentleman's place.

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March 20, '91.—Marlborough, Salisbury, Basil Firebrace, W. Cant, Thos. Roffen, Cornbury, John Wilcoxe.'

In one of the letters said to have been written by Marlborough to Young, it was stated that the above 'Association' had been committed to the Bishop's keeping, and the Bishop himself was alleged by Young and Blackhead to have carried on a treasonable correspondence with Marl-

$\frac{15}{25}$ 6, 1692. borough. When examined by the Lords of the Council, Dr. Spratt was questioned closely as to his acquaintance with Marlborough, and was asked: 'Had any letters passed between them during the previous three months?' He replied that although they had known one another both at the Court of King James and in Parliament, he had neither written to nor heard from him; and when subsequently he was confronted by his accusers, Blackhead broke down in cross-examination, and admitted his guilt and the falsity of the charges. The whole plot was cleverly contrived, and the forgeries were admirably executed; it only failed through the accident of their not being found at the right moment in the Bishop's palace. Such was the state of feeling at the time that the slightest evidence of guilt would have condemned them, for the dread of invasion was then no mere illusion. An invasion by James at the head of the combined French and Irish Army was known to be really imminent, and the people were in a mood to believe in any plot against William's Throne. Well indeed may the Bishop have said: 'To God, therefore, my only Deliverer, be the praise!'

So ended this infamous plot. The accused were all released with the exception of Marlborough, whose retention in prison was contrary to law, especially after the Grand Jury had found a true bill against Young for forgery. Most people will admit, however, that, at a time when James was threatening to invade England, the fact that Marlborough was in correspondence with him amply justified Mary's action in the matter.

This was a time of trial to Lady Marlborough, for

her anxiety about her husband was now deepened into sorrow by the loss of her youngest child Charles, who was not quite two years old. His death was a great and real grief to his parents at this trying period of their career. May, 1692. Anne refers to it in the following letter: 'May 22, Sion House.—I am very sensibly touched with the misfortune that my dear Mrs. Freeman has had of losing her son, knowing very well what it is to lose a child; but she knowing my heart so well, and how great a share I bear in all her concerns, I will not say any more on this subject, for fear of renewing her passion too much.'*

The Princess Anne's letters to her favourite at this period are filled with loving expressions of sympathy for her distress and anxiety of mind. Under the pressure of mental trouble Sarah's health and strength began to suffer, and frequent are the inquiries on this head: 'I am in pain to know how my dear Mrs. Freeman does, for she is not used to complain, nor to be let blood for a little thing: and therefore I cannot help enquiring what is the matter, and how she finds herself now.'† In the following letter Anne May 5, 1692. evinces the bitterness of her feeling against her sister at this time: 'I am sorry with all my heart dear Mrs. Freeman meets with so many delays; but it is a comfort, they cannot keep Lord Marlborough in the Tower longer than the end of the term: and I hope when parliament sits, care will be taken that people may not be clapt upon for nothing, or else there will be no living in quiet for any body, but insolent Dutch and sneaking mercenary Englishmen,' etc.

Marlborough's great endeavour was to avail himself of the privilege secured to all Englishmen by the Habeas Corpus Act. It was necessary that he should find men ready to go bail for him, and amongst other letters written by him on this subject is the following one to Lord Halifax: 'My Lord,—My Councill being to move the Court of King's Bench for my Habeas Corpus the beginning of next Term, and being very certain of my own innocence, and that no

* 'Conduct,' p. 79. † *Ibid.*, p. 68.

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instance can be shewn why I should not be bail'd, I desire the favour of your Lordship to be there and be one of my Suretys for my appearance not knowing yet how many they may require to be found for me; I shall be unwilling to give your Lordship this trouble without a necessity, and in that case I shall always own it as the greatest obligation to your Lordship's most obedient MARLBOROUGH.'*

$\frac{16}{26}$ 6, 1692. At length, on June 15, Marlborough was brought before the Court of King's Bench on a writ of habeas corpus, and released from the Tower upon finding bail for £6,000 for his appearance when required. His sureties were Lords Shrewsbury, Halifax and Carbury, and Mrs. Boyle. One Mr. Maule, a false friend, went to Sarah and offered his services in the matter of bail when he knew them to be no longer required. She thanked him, and told him that her husband had many friends, but that his best friend was the Habeas Corpus Act, which she had consequently often kissed. A week later the names of the first two of these lords and that of Marlborough were removed from the list of Privy Councillors by Queen Mary's orders.†

In the following October Marlborough again appeared before the Court of King's Bench, petitioning to have his recognisances discharged. He urged that Young, upon whose forged evidence he had been committed, had been convicted, whipped, and pilloried, and that it was monstrous to treat him differently from those who had been already relieved of responsibility in the matter. If his request were refused, he announced his intention of appealing to the House of Lords as a matter of privilege; but the Court refused to grant him the release he sought for.

To the people, who knew nothing of Marlborough's double-faced dealings with James, the treatment he received from William seemed harsh and ungenerous, and tended greatly to increase the King's unpopularity.

* Spencer House Papers. † Carte MSS., 242, fo. 94.

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WILLIAM'S UNFORTUNATE CAMPAIGN.

William's defeat at Steinkirk—Death of General Mackay—William as a General—Parliament begs William to dismiss all his foreign officers—Attempts to bring about a reconciliation between the two Royal sisters—Queen Mary's unhappiness—Jacobite intrigues William loses the battle of Landen.

WHEN the King had made arrangements for the winter quarters of his army in Flanders he returned to England. His entry into London was like a triumph, and the cordiality of his reception was in marked contrast with what it had been on former occasions. The people, cheered by the victory of La Hogue, which had relieved them from the dread of invasion, were for the moment in good humour with William, notwithstanding the failure of his campaign in Flanders. Nov. 10, 1692.

But the defeat at Steinkirk had been a bloody affair on both sides, and the heavy English loss led to renewed complaints against the King's Dutch officers.* Amongst those who fell in the battle was the gallant General Hugh Mackay, who, though ten years older than Marlborough, July 24-25, 1692.

* The Princess, writing to Sarah when the news of William's defeat had just reached her, says she supposes Marlborough had heard all particulars from his brother Charles, who commanded a brigade there, or from Colonel Godfrey, his brother-in-law, who was in command of a regiment. Eighth Report, MSS. of 1881. Amongst the killed was General Mackay, Sir J. Lanier, Sir R. Douglas, the Earl of Angus, many other officers, and about 2,000 rank and file. The wounded and prisoners numbered about 3,000 men more, and we lost several guns.

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had been his brother subaltern in early life. He was a pious, God-fearing man, full of wisdom and common-sense, and his death was a heavy loss to Marlborough, with whom he had always kept up a friendly and regular correspondence. Moreover, he was well thought of by William, and might have helped to procure his friend's restoration to favour.*

William, though brim-full of military knowledge, lacked the military genius to turn that knowledge to the best account, by the formation of bold strategic conceptions or new combinations. The names of most great conquerors are associated with some innovation in tactics, for it is new ideas which generally win battles. The campaigns conducted at this epoch on principles learned from treatises on war seldom led to anything decisive, and William's costly campaigns were no exception to the rule. Had a Napoleon or a Marlborough with undisputed power appeared on either side—a man who would have thrown to the winds all stiff and conventional notions—he would have ended the war in one campaign. William never spared himself, but worked hard to win on all occasions, and, though weak in body, he made light of fatigue and privations. Brave to a fault, he despised danger, and yet the Boyne was almost his only victory. This year Namur was taken by Lewis under his very nose, and the crushing defeat of Steinkirk robbed him for ever of the soldiers' confidence. The English troops were disheartened and discontented, declaring loudly they had been sacrificed by the imbecility of Count Solmes. Tollemache, who, since the death of Kirke and the disgrace of Marlborough, had become the best known English General, did not hesitate to lay the blame of the defeat upon the military incapacity of the Prince of Waldeck and of Count Solmes. This did not tend to promote a better state of feeling between the

* Subaltern officers together, they were made Major-Generals in the same *Gazette*, but afterwards Marlborough became a Lieutenant-General long before his friend.

Dutch and English armies, or to reconcile the nation to William's practice of confiding all high commands to foreigners.

Parliament met on William's birthday, but neither House seemed anxious to please him, and complaints were heard on all sides. Marlborough, smarting under the indignity of dismissal from the army and recent imprisonment, was eager to incite the discontented Whigs to oppose the Court. The Whigs, as a party, considered that the King had behaved badly to those who had put him on the Throne. It was not, therefore, difficult for a man of Marlborough's persuasive powers and tenacity of purpose to excite them to a determined opposition in Parliament.* The war in Flanders had always been unpopular, and was now doubly so, because of the recent failure. Many officers and a host of private soldiers had been uselessly and stupidly sacrificed in the unfortunate battle, while the merchants complained loudly of great losses at sea through ignorance and want of energy on the part of the navy. The House of Lords, instead of considering the King's speech, entered at once into questions of privilege. Marlborough, Lichfield, and others had been sent to the Tower on imperfect information, and not on the sworn depositions of two credible witnesses, as custom, if not the law, demanded. These peers now appealed to the House, and were warmly supported. Angry debates ensued, full of hostility to William and his foreign favourites. The judges who had refused to discharge the recognisances of the imprisoned peers were summoned to appear and explain their conduct, and the Constable of the Tower had to produce the warrants upon which they had been committed. The retention of Marlborough's bail was also regarded as a breach of privilege. The question was referred to the judges and law officers of the Crown. A committee of the House of Lords reported that the recognisance of these peers should be discharged, and pointed out that an order from the King would be the best solution. This was adopted,

Nov. 11, 1692.

* Dalrymple, Part III., Book I.

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and so ended a debate as injurious to William's interests as it was personally offensive to him.

Ministers were screened from further attack by an Act of Indemnity. William saw that whilst his treatment of Marlborough had embittered the feeling of Parliament against the Court, it had also increased Marlborough's reputation amongst his countrymen. And yet the King could at any moment have ruined him in the eyes of all Protestants and lovers of constitutional government by making known his traitorous correspondence with James. It may be presumed that he did not do so either because he could not see his way to prove his assertions, or because if he accused one he would have to implicate others who, like Godolphin, were necessary to his Government. To accuse Marlborough would frighten all his Ministers, for he knew that all had been and many were still engaged in a similar correspondence.

$18, 2, 169\frac{2}{3}$. The Lords prayed that no foreigners should be members of the Board of Ordnance or keepers of stores in the Tower; that the General of the English forces under the King should be a subject born in their Majesties' dominions; that English officers should be preferred to foreigners, and that none but English troops should be left in England for its defence.* A strong feeling was evinced in the House of Commons also against William's Dutch Generals. A resolution was passed that none but Englishmen should be placed in command of British troops. The Duke of Leinster and Count Solmes were particularly aimed at in this motion; the latter having recently rendered himself specially obnoxious to the English in Flanders. Some of the officers who had commanded regiments there, including Colonel Godfrey, Marlborough's brother-in-law, took part in the debate. They did all they could to excite the House against Count Solmes, whom they denounced for his conduct at Steinkirk, and they strove to arouse popular feeling against all the foreign Generals. The Whig Lords took a similar

* The House of Lords' Journal for 18, 2, $169\frac{2}{3}$.

line in the Upper House, egged on and encouraged by Marlborough. But notwithstanding the critical if not hostile attitude of Parliament, liberal supplies were voted for both army and navy; for the army, 54,562 rank and file, at a cost of over two millions sterling, and for the navy 33,000 seamen at a somewhat similar amount. The exact sum voted for both services was £4,205,068, not including the cost of the army in Ireland.

Marlborough, who was far from rich before his disgrace, now found himself deprived of the greater part of his income, and this did not tend to reconcile one who loved money, as he did, to William or his Government. He associated much with Admiral Russell, Lord Halifax, Shrewsbury, and the Whigs who had been William's chief agents at the Revolution, but who were now in communication with St. Germains. Lady Marlborough was still in constant attendance upon the Princess, who lived like a private individual in Berkeley House. There Marlborough spent most of his time, with occasional visits to St. Albans. Anne wished to create an office for him in her household, with a salary of £1,000 a year, but his wife dissuaded her from doing so.*

During the winter of 1692-3, and all through 1693, frequent efforts were made by friends of the Princess to effect a reconciliation between her and the Queen, but to no purpose. Mary would not even negotiate, as long as Lady Marlborough remained with Anne, and the latter positively refused to part with her. Mary in a letter to her sister says, 'It is not words can make us live together as we ought. You know what I required of you.' 'I cannot change my mind, but expect to be complied with.' 'You can give me no other marks that will satisfy me.'† Anne repeats to Lady Marlborough her determination never to submit to the Queen on this point, and again refers to Sarah's desire to quit her service. 'No, my dear Mrs. Freeman,' she writes, 'never believe your faithful Morley will ever submit. She can wait with patience for a sun-

* 'Conduct,' p. 285. † *Ibid.*, p. 78.

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shiny day, and if she does not see it, yet she hopes England will flourish again. Once more give me leave to beg you would be so kind never to speak of parting more, for, let what will happen, that is the only thing that can make me miserable.' *

In August, 1693, it was commonly reported in London that a reconciliation between the sisters had been brought about through Marlborough's influence.† It was even said that he was to be restored to his position in the army as a reward for this great public service. The bells, which owing to the repeated failure of our arms had long been silent, rang out merrily once more, and there was general rejoicing. But in a few days the whole story was found to be without foundation. The wish had been father to the thought.‡

Meanwhile, Mary, one of the best of women, was beginning to experience the pangs of remorse, and her thoughts turned often towards her father. Strong as was her Dutch Protestantism, and much as she abhorred Popery, yet she could not forget that the Throne she occupied was not rightfully hers. She deeply deplored her disagreement with Anne, and regarded it as a direct punishment from God for the disloyal, underhand, and dishonest part which both sisters had played in the drama of the Revolution. But, as she wrote, 'it was unavoidable,' and she trusted that neither the Church nor the nation should suffer.§ She hated being Queen, but she did her best to play the part cheerfully in order to please her exacting, unloving husband. Her lot was indeed a sad one. Mated with a man whom she had come to love after marriage, and on whom she lavished all the tenderness and warmth of her nature, she received from him in return little but neglect and cruelty, and saw her rightful place in his affections usurped by a mistress. Though handsome, young, and

* 'Conduct,' p. 85.

† Hatton Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 195; Luttrell, 24, 8, 1693.

‡ Luttrell, 29, 8, 1693.

§ Memoirs of Mary II., by herself, edited by Doebuer.

full of life, she had for ten years, as she mentions in one of her letters, been compelled by her husband's neglect to live the life of a nun.*

When James recovered from the blow which he received at La Hogue, he renewed his correspondence with Russell, Marlborough, Godolphin, Shrewsbury and other high officials in England. He found them still, in word, devoted to his cause. In November he describes the position of affairs in England very fully in a memorial presented to his most Christian Majesty of France. His project of invasion having failed for the time being, he argues upon the chances of being recalled by Parliament. His friends, he says, had wished to bring this about the year before—as described in a previous chapter.

Though daring in enterprise and reckless of personal danger, Marlborough was, as a plotter, cautious, if not timid. It was as natural to him to trim and hedge in politics as to charge at the head of his steel-breasted horsemen in battle. He never threw away the scabbard or burnt his boats in any political venture. This characteristic is revealed in every phase of his correspondence with the exiled Stewarts from this year to the end of his life. The period intervening between the accession of James II. and Marlborough's death was remarkable for the sudden changes of fortune which overtook, not only the occupant of the Throne, but the King's servants also. Each fresh turn of the wheel might make or mar the fortunes of any individual; might make him a Minister or send him to the block. Public life involved something more than the mere question of being 'in' or 'out' of office. It meant a conflict that would probably end in impeachment and imprisonment, and might end on Tower Hill. The year 1693 was the gloomiest in William's reign. His rule inspired general disgust, for his system of govern-

* Mary, although a healthy woman, was childless, and Elizabeth Villiers, although she bore her lawful husband many children, never had one by her Royal protector.

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ment and his aims and objects were regarded as essentially unpatriotic and un-English. There was still much talk of invasion; the better classes were tainted with treason, and the political horizon was black with clouds.

To watch over his interests in England, James depended chiefly on Lord Middleton, who was connected with Lord Shrewsbury by marriage. He it was who, before La Hogue, had negotiated with Admiral Russell and the other 'shattered reeds,' as James styles those whom Mary imprisoned. Middleton reports to James that he found Marlborough 'frank and cordial in the matter,' and not only ready to serve his exiled master, but anxious to indicate how he thought the King's interests could be best furthered.* He and the other Jacobite lords who thus deceived James with effusive assurances of loyalty, now declared that he must by solemn proclamation make more explicit promises on the following points: A general pardon; the frequent assemblage of Parliament; the redress of grievances; the protection of the rights and properties of the Church; the maintenance of the Test and renunciation of all power to dispense with it, unless by the sanction of Parliament; and, lastly, a guarantee to re-establish the Act of Settlement in Ireland. James and his intimate advisers disliked these terms, and deemed them harsh and exacting, but they met with the approval of Lewis XIV.—on whose bounty James lived—and were consequently embodied in a proclamation which was published. Before the ink was well dry James repented of the promises he had made regarding the Church of England.† But he disquieted himself in vain, for the proclamation fell quite flat. He has well said in his Memoirs, 'That all the frute the King reaped from this Declaration, was blame from his friends, contempt from his enemies, and repentance in himself.'‡

$\frac{7}{17}$ 4, 1693.

* James's Memoirs in Clarke's Life, vol. ii., p. 501.

† Clarke's Life, vol. ii., p. 509.

‡ 'His friends' here means his confessor and the other priests who were his secret advisers. Clarke's Life, vol. ii., p. 511.

Lord Middleton, writing to a friend in England, says: 'Excuse my not writing to Lord Churchill. But let him know that by the next he shall hear from me; and that his affairs are in as good a posture as we could wish.'* James's emissaries passed incessantly between St. Germains and London. Marlborough and his friends were intimate with them, and many were the letters they carried between him and James. In one he gave James the following advice: 'If there be anything proposed you may think a little hard, you will please not to shew yourself much offended with it, and what you cannot comply with, make it appear it is from the impracticableness of it: for should you positively refuse to agree to what is proposed, you will loos some of the ablest of your Council, which may endanger the loosing all.' He ends by saying 'he would not have taken the libertie of giveing him that advice, but that he had already and did again assure him, that for himself he would go on, in whatever measures should be taken.' Upon this the writer of James's Memoirs says, 'Whether he was to be credited or no in this generous assurance, is doubtful.'†

$\frac{9}{19}$ 4, 1693.

$\frac{23}{3}$-$\frac{8}{9}$, 1693.

Whilst most anxious to have his cause pushed in Parliament by the refusal of his friends to give William money for the war with France, James still kept before Lewis XIV. the advisability of invading England. In many memorials of this year, he pointed out how advantageous such a course would be, not only to himself as King of England, but also to Lewis in his struggle with William in Holland. Writing to Admiral Russell, he urged him to regain the command of the English fleet, which William had taken from him soon after his victory. He desired the Earls Shrewsbury, Danby, Godolphin, Churchill and Admiral Russell to 'do what in prudence they can, to hinder money or retard it, and hinder the going out of the fleet, so soon as it might do otherwise.'‡ He thought only of himself, he had no

$\frac{10}{20}$ 10, 1693.

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 443.

† Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 513.

‡ Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 457.

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care for England or for her interests. The following instructions in Lord Melfort's handwriting, signed by James, are interesting:* 'By C. Shr. to E. Sh. and Ld. Ch. by

Oct. 16. C. Sh. to Russell.' 'It is his Majesty's pleasure that you lett Admiral Russell kno that his maj^ty^ desires him to endeavour to get the command of the Fleet from the P. of Or. that his maj^ty^ trusts in what the Adm. sent him word of by E. of Mdlton and Mr. floyd, and assures him that on his part he is ready to perform what he has promised at his desire that he is so far from giving any ground to any to wrest the contrary that of all things he desires that they will lett him kno the Authors of the Calumny that he may sho them his dislyke by the punishment he will inflict upon them.

'That you inform y^r^ selves how Adm. Russell can best serve his maj^ty^ and when that things may be timely adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned and that you endeavour by all means to keep Mr. Russell to thos ways which may secure him the command of the fleet and lett all other resentments if possible sleep since upon these occasions the fewer enemys he reases to himself his affaor will go the smoother on which is much his maj^ties^ interest His Maj^ty^ lykeways desires that you may from time to time lett him know how this mater proceeds and that without delay since his affairs require hast.'

'This had wreaten abov: This is to be given to 39 (Churchill) and 33 (Ld. Shrewsbury) concerning 36 (admiral

Oct. 16, 1693. Russell) Signed, this is my desire. M. dated. Oct^r^ 16, 1693.'

'Instructions to E. Danby, Lord Godolphin and Churchill by C. Shrewsbury.—It is his Maj^ties^ pleasure that you desire the Earl of Danby to endeavour to gayne Ad. Killegrasse to his service since his Maj^tie^ knows that he has due influence on him that is if he be to be employed.

'That his Maj^ty^ expects upon this conjuncture that the

* This letter is in cipher. It is in the Carte MSS., 209, fo. 100. The 'Ld. Ch.' means Marlborough.

Earle of Danby will do him what service he can and most particularly by giving him—(a cue or a guide) how to act against the Prince of Orange and by letting him kno as well as he can what the s^d^ prince's designes may be and his opinions how to prevent them E. Sh: Dan: God: Ch: R^ll^. etc.*

'That you doe what in prudence you can to hinder money or retard and to hinder the going out of the fleet so soon as it might doe otherways. That they send the K. their advice if it be for his service to send anything to the Par^t^. in pursuance of his declarations and if it will not be fitt that M.C.† King emitt some Declaratione now that he is so victorious as to giv terror to all his nighbours and it may be to England showing that he has no intentione in relatione to England but the re-establishment of her lawfull King upon his throne which done he will not medle in their concerns but leave them to be governed by their own laws and to enjoy the religious libertys propertys which by the laws they have right to. And that in all other things wherein his maj^ties^ interest may be concerned, it is his Maj^ties^ desire, that they send him their advice, that if he can answer for his sone, he by no means permitt him to lay downe his imployment at sea.'‡

Great distress prevailed in France throughout this year in consequence of two bad harvests and vintages, and thousands died of starvation. Although William had, as usual, suffered reverses in Flanders, and the French had been successful not only there but in Piedmont and elsewhere, Lewis, out of regard for his people's misery, thought it advisable to make peace if he could do so on favourable terms. Peace would, of course, be the end of James's hopes, and he was naturally rejoiced when the

* These initials mean Shrewsbury, the Earls of Danby, Godolphin, Churchill, and Admiral Russell.

† M.C.=Most Christian.

‡ Carte MSS., 209, fo. 101. The son at sea referred to was Lord Caernarthen.

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French overtures were refused by William. The terms offered by Lewis were most liberal, but they did not include the recognition of William as King of England, and this precluded all chance of their acceptance by him. The continuance of the war cost England millions of money and thousands of lives, and the destruction of the English Smyrna fleet in June by De Tourville created great discontent in London. William, although well aware of Russell's correspondence with St. Germains, now reappointed him to the command of the fleet. James could not, however, obtain from Russell anything more than promises of a general nature. Even Marlborough and Godolphin made excuses, and tried to throw the blame upon Mary of Modena and James's councillors. The former wrote to James that an invading army could alone help his cause effectively, and that it should consist of not less than 25,000 men, besides arms, etc., for 7,000 more.* This was the delusive advice which the King received from these pretended friends, who never did him any tangible good or themselves any harm; for if they were left out of employment they claimed credit for being opposed to the Government, and if they obtained office they represented it as an advantage to the King that they were in a better position to serve him. Commenting upon the disappointment of the French at their failures on his behalf, James says: 'For to be sure it was fear, not affection, that made up the main ingredient of those men's loyalty, who had so lately engaged to do such wonders for him; so when they saw no more reason to be afraid they soon forgot what, for that reason alone, they had so solemnly promised.'

$\frac{13}{23}$ 12, 1693.

These extracts, especially the last, contain the key to what has long been a puzzle. For nearly 200 years the question has been warmly discussed as to how Marlborough and those who had placed William on the Throne came to open a correspondence with James almost immediately after they had driven him out of his kingdom. But they recognised

* Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 519.

the weakness of William's hold upon the country, and lived in daily dread lest the unforgiving James should regain his Throne. No Englishman of weight or power regarded William with affection; Anne, the heiress-presumptive, was openly hostile, and dangers, political and military, threatened him both at home and abroad. Thus, like the unjust steward, they sought to secure themselves against what for some years seemed a most probable contingency, though they were, as James so clearly perceived, moved by apprehension for themselves rather than by affection for him. Moreover, the recollection that James was rightfully King remained firmly rooted in the minds of the peers and landed gentry, and he still reigned in the hearts of thousands. The hunting squire was by nature a Jacobite. He hated Popery, but he had no love for the principles of the Revolution, and as he caroused with his neighbours he drank the health of his rightful sovereign. Cromwell's austere rule had served to heighten the loyal sentiment which clung round the memory of the fallen house of Stewart, and James's father was generally regarded by the gentry as a martyr of blessed memory. But above all, both father and son were Englishmen, whilst the puny, dyspeptic Prince who now ruled them was only a Dutchman, and this, apart from William's personal unpopularity, accounts for the affection which was still felt for James. Lord Halifax declared that if James would but give his Protestant subjects sufficient sureties as to their religion and the rights of the Church, it would be impossible to keep him from the Throne for many months longer.*

The campaign in Flanders in 1693 was as unsuccessful as those in previous years. William displayed the greatest daring, and worked hard for victory at the bloody and profitless battle of Landen, or Neerwinden, as the French call it.† But all to no purpose, for he was again hopelessly

July 7, 1693.

* Berwick's Memoirs, vol. i., note on p. 424.

† The regiments now in the army that were engaged in this battle were the Foot Guards, the Royal Scots, the Queen's, the Buffs, the

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defeated with the loss of about 7,000 men and 60 guns. He was no match for Luxembourg in the serious game of war. One of the most dramatic incidents of that unfortunate battle was the capture of the Duke of Berwick by his uncle, General Charles Churchill. Berwick had with great gallantry charged at the head of the French Horse, but advancing too far, he found his retreat cut off. To avoid detection, and in the hope of escape, he took the white cockade from his hat and drew the brim over his face. Unfortunately for him his uncle, Charles Churchill, recognised the Duke's aide-de-camp, and, looking round with a tolerable certainty that the nephew could not be far off, he discovered and made him prisoner. He was soon afterwards exchanged for the Duke of Ormond and a ransom of 20,000 guilders, which went to Brigadier Churchill.

The English fought with determined courage, and the skilful manner in which General Tollemache brought off the British infantry and covered the retreat with them won general admiration. Meanwhile it must have been gall and wormwood to Marlborough to hang about Berkeley House listening to abuse of the unsuccessful 'Caliban' and his 'Froglanders,' whilst English troops were suffering defeat because their Dutch commander did not know how to win battles. For him who felt the inspiration of military genius within him it was indeed a sore punishment to be thus compelled to remain idle at home whilst British soldiers fought and bled on lost fields of battle. To Marlborough, conscious of his own ability, and eager for an opportunity of displaying it, enforced idleness was peculiarly galling.

King's Royal Lancaster, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, the King's Own Scottish Borderers, and the Scottish Rifles. The following British regiments, subsequently disbanded, were also engaged: Mackay's, Lander's, Fagel's, and Stanley's.

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WILLIAM III. TAKES THE PEOPLE INTO HIS CONFIDENCE, AND TELLS THEM THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT THE STATE OF THE ARMY AND NAVY.

A change of Ministry — Marlborough's correspondence with St. Germains—Wellington's opinion of this correspondence.

WILLIAM returned to England on October 30, and opened Parliament eight days later with a speech in which he deplored the national failures by sea and land. Being a soldier, and not a party politician, he always told the people the whole truth about the army and navy, and stated plainly to Parliament what he believed to be essential for both services in the interests of the State. He kept back nothing, and Parliament was consequently able to judge whether his demands for men, money, stores, etc., were or were not necessary. It is to be regretted that this practice has not been continued to our day. But in 1693, the system of government by party had not as yet perverted the sense of public duty, and led men to put the exigencies of party before the great interests of the nation. William never disguised his contempt for the political divisions and animosities which prevented educated men from combining in support of measures calculated to strengthen the kingdom and to further the welfare of the people. He looked upon party government as fatal to our best national interests, and regarded both Whigs and Tories as place-hunters who could always be bought at the price of employment.

Oct. 11, 1693.

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In this instance he laid the position of England and her Allies before Parliament. He stated his views as to what ought to be done, and dwelt upon the necessity of immediate preparation for the next campaign, and of an increase to the army, leaving the decision in the hands of the people's representatives. His appeal was generously met by the House of Commons, as such an appeal always is met when a Cabinet has the courage and the honesty to tell the whole truth about the army and navy. Parliament pledged itself to support the King, and voted two millions and a half sterling for the fleet and a little more for the army, the strength of which was fixed at 83,121 men of all ranks, for home and foreign service. In these numbers were included six new regiments of Horse, four of Dragoons, and fifteen of Foot.* But, to the King's extreme annoyance, a resolution was passed by the House of Commons that the new regiments were to be 'commanded by their majesties' born subjects.'

Nov. 12, 1693.

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In April, at the instigation of Sunderland, William at last resolved upon a change of Ministers. He replaced the Tory Secretary of State Nottingham by 'the one-eyed' Shrewsbury, a cautious Whig, whom he created a Duke; but although he thus went back to the party which had made him King, he dismissed no Tory who earnestly supported his Government. Of all the Englishmen whom he employed, the industrious Sunderland had most weight with him. An able though an unprincipled and corrupt Minister in a corrupt age, prepared even to change his religion to please his master, Sunderland was nevertheless one who sincerely wished to see the liberties of the people firmly established. His intimate knowledge of England, and of all the men of note in his time, and his great

* These regiments were all disbanded at the Peace of Ryswick. The regiments of Horse were to be of the same strength as the Queen's Regiment of Horse, the Dragoons of the same strength as the Royals, and the Foot the same as Colonel Selwyn's (now the Queen's or West Surrey Regiment).

experience in public affairs, rendered him a most useful servant to William.

The nation was angry and disheartened at the naval and military failures of the previous year, while the heavy taxes and the absence of prosperity at home caused those failures to be felt all the more acutely. The army was unpaid, and no less than a million sterling was owing to the sailors, who were in a state of mutiny. Government could only raise money at seven per cent.* Fresh taxation was required to sustain the war, whilst the merchants complained loudly about their losses at sea. The roads were infested with highwaymen, many of whom were, it was said, discharged Jacobite officers deprived of all other means of livelihood. No road leading to London was safe, and these desperate men even attacked houses in the City itself. So bad did this state of things become, that at one time it was seriously proposed to contract for the protection of the kingdom against the highwayman and the housebreaker, in consideration of the sum of £8,000 a year.†

The correspondence between James and some of the leading men in England was actively maintained throughout the winter of 1693-4 and through the following spring and summer. A memorial presented to the French Court in January contains a list of the landowners who, on the authority of the Jacobite agents, were said to be prepared to stand by James, and in it occurs the following entry: 'Lord Churchill advises his Majesty to come, and gives him assurances of his own services, and of the services of all those who are of his party, which is very considerable.'‡ The memorial is in Mr. Nairne's handwriting, and is apparently a digest of the news and reports received from England made by Lord Melfort for the French Ministers. $\frac{25}{15}$-$\frac{1}{11}$, $169\frac{3}{4}$.

* Macpherson's History, vol. ii.

† F. Bonnet's reports in vol. vi., p. 193, of Ranke. Only two years before Marlborough had been stopped by highwaymen near Coney and robbed of 500 guineas when on his way to St. Albans. See Luttrell, 25, 8, 1692.

‡ Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 475.

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Many of those who were in William's confidence were in constant correspondence with the little Court at St. Germains, but as long as they did their duty he did not care to inquire into their political opinions. Lord Godolphin, for example, gave William the most statesmanlike advice, and at the same time conveyed to James, and, through him, to the French Court, the earliest information of the intended attack upon Brest.* It is only the biographer —blinded by partiality for his hero—who can deny that the cautious, prudent Godolphin was as deeply involved in treasonable correspondence with St. Germains as were Admiral Russell and many others of his friends. These men were far more guilty than Marlborough, for they were the trusted servants of the State, whilst he at this time held no command or office, nor was he in receipt of any public emolument.

$\frac{28}{10}$-$\frac{2}{3}$, $169\frac{3}{4}$.

When the popular Earl of Shrewsbury—the 'king of hearts,' as he was nicknamed—accepted office, Marlborough explained to James how this event had come about.† He said that William had so earnestly pressed office upon the new Secretary of State that he could not resist, but 'tho' he altered his condition,' 'he would never alter his inclinations.'‡ It is alleged by Marlborough's enemies that whilst he thus expressed himself in writing, he suppressed the fact that he had advised Lord Shrewsbury to accept office with a view to obtain the assistance of a powerful Minister who was willing and able to serve him, 'and procure his re-

* Dalrymple's Appendix to chapter i., Part II. The Stewart Papers, 1694. Macpherson's 'History of Great Britain,' vol. ii., p. 67. Godolphin was commonly called 'Judas' in this reign, because he 'carried the purse.'

† Shrewsbury, a moderate Whig, had long carried on a correspondence with St. Germains through his infamous mother. Sunderland pressed James to invade England. The Earl of Abington, and Lord Clare, just made Duke of Newcastle by William, Mulgrave, just made Marquis of Normanby, Godolphin, the Duke of Leeds, Rochester, Admiral Russell, and a host of others, were engaged in this secret correspondence with James.

‡ Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., pp. 519, 520.

admission into favour.' According to Marlborough's letter of February to James, his friends had assured him that the command of the army would be restored to him if he would allow them to request it for him ; but, he added, he would only again accept office with 'his Majesty's permission and approbation.' 'I have already,' he wrote, 'been so unhappy, and you so good, that it were impossible for me to take pleasure in anything but what I was sure you approved of.'* 28 Feb.-8 Mar. 169⅓.

But all this meant nothing. Marlborough did not feel any of the loyalty to James which he thus expressed. In truth, the sentiment of loyalty—once so active a principle within him—had by this time become almost extinct. When he renounced his allegiance to James he did not, and Tory as he was he could not, acquire for William that reverence which is born of loyalty to a hereditary King. It is sad to think and still more sad to write this of one of our very greatest Englishmen. But the fact remains, that neither William nor the State ever replaced in his soul the idol of loyalty which was overturned when he forsook James.

Well indeed may the Duke of Wellington have said that Marlborough had only done in 1688 what so many of Napoleon's Marshals did in 1814. Marmont and others who deserted at Fontainebleau had been raised to the highest positions in France and enriched enormously by a kind and indulgent master—a Sovereign who had been adored for years by his country and who had raised her from the abyss of the Revolution to cover her with glory and make her the foremost of nations. But Marlborough and those who made William King deserted a cruel and selfish despot who had done his best to degrade England, to rob her of her free institutions, and to eradicate the religion to which her people were deeply attached.

* Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., pp. 519, 520.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

TOLLEMACHE'S ATTACK UPON BREST.

What led to this Brest Expedition — General Tollemache — Reconnaissance of Brest—The Attack and its repulse—Examination of the charge made against Marlborough about this affair—Vauban ordered to strengthen the defences of Brest — Marlborough's conduct inexcusable.

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THIS was the year of our disastrous repulse before Brest, for which Marlborough has long been held primarily responsible. For nearly two centuries it has been repeated as a historical fact that the destination of the expedition sent against that place was *first betrayed by Marlborough to St. Germains, and that it was in consequence of the information given by him in a letter of the 4th May this year, that Lewis XIV. placed Brest in the condition of defence which caused the attack to fail.* In considering this charge, it is essential that the reader should remember its wording. The charge is not merely that he communicated with James on the subject before the attack came off—for of that there is no doubt—but that he was *the first* who did so, and that it was in consequence of the information *he* gave that the French King had Brest so well prepared, that the attack upon it was repulsed with great loss to the English.* If, therefore, it be conclusively proved that the preparations were the result of information obtained by

* At p. 15 of 'Paradoxes and Puzzles' this subject is lucidly and exhaustively dealt with.

Lewis from others previous to the date of Marlborough's letter, then this charge falls to the ground.

The circumstances which led to the Brest expedition were briefly as follows: After the battle of La Hogue the French fleets could no longer be decoyed into the open sea. But while they kept within their fortified harbours, single ships of war and privateers made frequent sallies upon our merchantmen, and, from Brest in particular, made great havoc of English commerce. William soon realized that this species of warfare could only be stopped by a combined naval and military attack upon the French ports, and he selected Brest for his first attempt. He was led to believe that the state of its defences was such that the place might be taken by open assault if suddenly attacked before the French could have had time to strengthen the works or to reinforce the garrison. But should it become known at Versailles that danger threatened Brest, the place could be easily rendered secure against any attack short of a regular siege —an operation which was then out of the question. Secrecy was therefore of the first moment.

In April about 7,000 troops were ordered to encamp on the Portsdown Hills, and the large number of transports collected at Portsmouth for the conveyance of so many regiments soon drew attention to the fact that some expedition beyond the seas was in contemplation, and gave rise to speculations as to its destination.* Even at this early stage it was generally assumed that the troops were intended for a descent upon the coast of France.† Then, as now, it was difficult to keep from the British public the

* Birche's 'Lives of Illustrious Persons.'

† These 7,000 troops consisted of the ten following battalions: One battalion of Foot Guards, the regiment of the Marquis de Roda (now the Royal Warwick), Stewart's regiment (now the Norfolk Regiment), Hastings' regiment (now the Somerset Light Infantry), Earle's regiment (now the Yorkshire Regiment), Venner's regiment (now the Welsh Borderers), and the four regiments of Lord Cutts, Colonels Collier, Rowe, and Cootes, all of which were subsequently disbanded. Two battalions of Marines were also to accompany the fleet.

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plans of projected naval and military operations. Every effort was made to put the people upon a wrong scent; but in vain. For months before the troops put to sea the intended attack upon Brest had been the common talk at London dinner-tables. Contemporary papers and letters prove this beyond doubt; and in the correspondence between William and Shrewsbury after the repulse many references are made to the length of time the French had known that Brest was the point selected for attack.* In fact, neither King nor Minister was at all confident of success, and their letters prove that both believed no landing would be attempted should Tollemache find that special preparations had been made to resist it.

Lieutenant-General T. Tollemache, who was selected to command the expedition, was son of Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart in her own right. He possessed natural ability, was well educated, and, like Marlborough, had always been a strong Protestant and much opposed to the measures of James II. When that monarch showed his determination to re-establish Roman Catholicism, Tollemache resigned his commission in the army, and in March, 1688, went to Holland. There William made him Colonel of one of the English regiments in the Dutch service—now the Northumberland Fusiliers—and with it he returned home at the Revolution. He subsequently distinguished himself in the Irish war, and again at the battle of Landen.† Like Marlborough, he disliked William's Dutch officers, and was in turn detested by them, a fact which did not tend to ingratiate him with the King.

1½ 7, 1693.

* Macpherson's History, vol. ii., p. 67; Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 483. See also Rappin's Continuation; Kennet, vol. iii., p. 664; Harris's 'William III.,' vol. iii., p. 298; the Shrewsbury Correspondence.

† He played an important part in the passage of the Shannon, the capture of Athlone, and in the battle of Aughrim. Dartmouth, in a note on Burnet, Book V., p. 130, says: 'It was commonly thought that he (Tollemache) was Oliver Cromwell's son, and that he had a very particular sort of vanity in desiring it should be so understood.'

His plan for the attack of Brest was to land suddenly with about 7,000 troops on the narrow neck of land which separates the roadsteads of Cameret and Brest, and so to seal up, as it were, the whole port. Admiral Russell did not approve of this scheme, and writing to the Duke of Shrewsbury early in May from his flagship, at St. Helens, $\frac{3}{13}$ 5, 1694. he expressed great doubt as to the success of any such attack made with so small a number of soldiers.*

In the present day transports for the conveyance of even 100,000 men across the Channel could be easily and rapidly collected by either France or England at all times. Nor need they assemble, as formerly, in one or two ports, for being independent of wind, they could embark the troops at many places, and then rendezvous to the hour at any named spot. Neither would it be necessary to concentrate the troops before embarkation, for they could in twelve hours travel by rail from distant military stations to their respective ports, and embark at once upon arrival. It would thus be easy, by properly planned arrangements, to keep an enemy in ignorance of the fact that an expedition was intended. Not so two centuries ago. It was necessary then that all the troops should assemble at the port of embarkation, and, as soon as the ships were ready to receive them, should go on board to await a favourable wind, which often meant a delay of weeks.

Although Marlborough did not himself take part in the attack upon Brest, its disastrous results are so commonly laid to his charge that the following particulars regarding it may not be out of place.

After many delays, the ships detailed for the operation were at length ready for sea. Admiral Russell, with the bulk of his fleet, sailed for Brest on May 5. He left Sir $\frac{5}{15}$ 5, 1694. Cloudesley Shovel with a small squadron at St. Helens to embark the troops in the hired transports, but returned $\frac{21}{2}$-$\frac{3}{6}$, 1694. after an absence of eighteen days, having ascertained that the French fleet had quitted Brest. He sailed again in a

* Coxe's Shrewsbury Papers, p. 192.

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few days with his whole fleet, troopships included.* At sea the fleet divided, one half sailing for the Mediterranean under Russell, the other with all the transports, under Lord Berkeley, bearing down for Cameret Bay to attack Brest.

$\frac{6}{16}$ 6, 1694. Upon nearing that place, a council of war was held on board the flagship, to settle all details for the landing and final plan of attack. Lord Cutts—the 'salamander,' as Marlborough subsequently nicknamed him — strongly advised caution before the troops were finally committed to the attack.† He thought that a captain and fifty grenadiers should first go ashore to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and he was of opinion that the attack should not be made if the place were found to be strongly entrenched and garrisoned by regulars. Should it, however, be found to be weak, he would propose that all the Grenadiers of the force, about 600 in number, should land and assault the nearest entrenchments, whilst the rest of the troops followed in support with all speed. Admiral Lord Caermarthen—the second in command of the fleet—says, 'This advice of his lordship's was approved of, and General Talmach himself agreed it should be so.' We gather, from the way in which the proceedings of the council are recorded, that Caermarthen regarded Tollemache as too impetuous and inclined to be rash. He is described as accepting rather than approving the wise precautions advised by the gallant Cutts, who 'very honourably' volunteered to lead the Grenadiers ashore.

$\frac{7}{17}$ 6, 1694. The fleet when it anchored was received with a mortar fire, which showed that the attack was expected and the garrison prepared to resist it. Lord Caermarthen accordingly determined to go in close enough to reconnoitre the

* Lord Caermarthen's Journal, contained in a pamphlet 'printed for Randal Taylor, near Amen Corner, 1694.'

† Lord Cutts was the bravest of the brave, so when he urged caution, the undertaking must indeed have been hazardous. Born in 1661, he died in Dublin as Commander of the Forces in 1707. He wrote verses, and was cruelly libelled by Swift. He chose for his motto 'With labour and with blood.'

position before any landing should be attempted. Taking Lord Cutts with him in his galley, Caermarthen stood well into Cameret Bay, exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries. He found the place far stronger than he expected, and the garrison well entrenched and on the alert. Another council of war was ordered to assemble on the following day.

Day broke with a dense fog, and when it lifted, about $\frac{8}{18}$ 6, 1694. seven a.m., fourteen squadrons of French Horse were seen in line on the high ground to the west of Cameret Bay. They were believed to be regulars, from the appearance of their clothes and appointments. The majority of the council—indeed, nearly all but Tollemache, it would seem—were opposed to any attempt at a landing under the altered condition of things ashore. He, on the other hand, would listen to no words of warning, and maintained that the men whom they took to be regular soldiers were only a rabble brought together to make a show of strength; besides, he urged, the die was cast, it was too late for cautious advice, and he could not now retreat with honour.* A wise and prudent commander would have retired to try his fortune at some other point less prepared for resistance, but Tollemache would listen to no such proposal, and the Admirals unfortunately gave way to him.

The frigates whose duty it was to cover the landing had much difficulty in taking up their appointed stations, and a heavy fire was opened upon them, especially from three new batteries, whose existence had not been previously suspected. Tollemache's plan was to try and take Cameret Fort by open assault, a difficult operation at any time, and in the circumstances a piece of unpardonable folly.† As they neared the land, the boats carrying the troops, $\frac{8}{18}$ 6, 1694. exposed to a close and searching fire, fell into disorder, and when they reached the shore, the seamen mingling with the soldiers as they tried to form up, added to the confusion.

* Birche's 'Lives of Illustrious Persons.'

† T. Bourchett's Memoirs, 1703.

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At this moment the enemy's Horse charged, the General was shot in the thigh, and retreat became inevitable. Meanwhile the ebbing tide had left the heavy troop-boats nearly high and dry on the sandy beach, and the crews were only able to launch a few of them. Nearly all the men who landed were consequently either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

Admiral Lord Berkeley was greatly to blame for allowing the disembarkation to take place on an ebb-tide, a circumstance to which much of the loss which followed was directly attributable. Besides the losses ashore, the killed and wounded on board the fleet amounted to about 400 men. The ships that had engaged Cameret Fort for about three hours made little impression upon its thick walls, and when their crews saw that the attack by the troops had failed, 'great numbers of the Ships' Companies that were there, both Dutch and English, ran into the Hold, in spite of all the officers could do to prevent it.'* The fleet could do nothing against the shore batteries. A few guns on land, well placed and well served, must always be a match for the largest men-of-war, as we found at Sevastopol.

The morning after the repulse our fleet weighed anchor
$\frac{15}{25}$ 6, 1694. and sailed for the Isle of Wight, where the troops and wounded were landed. The brave but headstrong Tolle-
$\frac{19}{29}$ 6, 1694. mache was put ashore at Plymouth, where he died of his wound, and so ended this disastrous undertaking.

A century afterwards there was found amongst the documents left by King James in the Scotch College at Paris, a paper which was the alleged copy of the letter said to have been written by Marlborough for General Sackville, giving full information regarding this projected expedition. Few stopped to analyze the paper, or to compare its date with the dates of orders issued by Lewis XIV. for the defence of Brest. The result is that most writers have hitherto unhesitatingly denounced Marlborough as the man who was responsible for our disaster.

* Lord Caermarthen's Journal, p. 27.

This is the gravest charge which Marlborough's political enemies have brought against him. It has been repeated as a fact by most of our historians down to the present day, yet, of the many accusations preferred against him, it is the most easily disproved. It is essential in the first place to remember that our repulse was the result of preparations made to meet an expected attack, and that Lewis XIV. ordered these preparations because he had ascertained that Brest was the place aimed at by King William. The point, therefore, to be determined is, from whom and when did he first learn this?

About the beginning of March, Floyd, Groom of the Bedchamber to James, reached London for the purpose of conferring with the leading Jacobites. He had interviews with Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Admiral Russell, and Marlborough, all of whom, with the exception of the last, held high public offices of trust. The three first named were Ministers trusted by William, who when giving the seals of office to Lord Shrewsbury this same month, said: 'I know you are a man of honour, and if you undertake to serve me you will do so faithfully.' Yet he was at that very time, had long been, and long continued to be, like Marlborough, in treasonable correspondence with William's enemies! Marlborough, smarting under the remembrance of recent imprisonment, and still in disgrace, knew nothing of what took place at William's Councils, except what his friend Godolphin, the First Lord of the Treasury, volunteered to tell him. He received Floyd with cordiality, but gave him no information. Russell with many oaths, and Shrewsbury with great plausibility, did the same, but Godolphin went further, and told him that Russell would certainly appear shortly before Brest, which the military officers deemed open to attack, though the sailors were of a different opinion; 'that this would give a just pretext to His Most Christian Majesty to send troops to that place.'* Floyd's information was laid before Lewis at Versailles on

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 483.

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May 1, so we are justified in assuming that it was about April 15 or 20 when Godolphin told Floyd this.* It is thus beyond all doubt that the French King, even through this channel, was in possession of the so-called secret at least a week before Marlborough's letter of May 4 could have reached him.

The document in the Scotch College to which I have referred is in the handwriting of Mr. Nairne, the Under-Secretary of State to James, and afterwards to the Pretender. It is said to be a copy of the translation into French, made for the convenience of Lewis XIV., of an English letter sent in cipher to Lord Melfort at St. Germains by General Sackville, the Jacobite agent in London. The original letter is not in existence; we have only this alleged French translation of the English decipher of it; but there is good reason to believe that it had at least been seen by the Earl of Melfort, for it is interlined in one place with four words which Macpherson, the Tory writer, declares to be in that nobleman's handwriting.† James also, in his Memoirs, writes: 'May 4th.—Lord Churchill informed the King of the design on Brest.'‡

The document runs as follows: 'May 4, 1694.—I have just now received the inclosed for the King. It is from Lord Churchill; but no person but the Queen and you must know from whom it comes. Therefore for the love of God, let it be kept a secret even from Lord Middleton.§ I send it by express, judging it to be of the utmost consequence for the service of the King my master, and consequently for the service of his most Christian Majesty. You see, by the contents of this letter, that I am not

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 480; and 'Paradoxes and Puzzles,' p. 22.

† Everything Macpherson states against those who were hostile to James must be accepted with much reserve.

‡ See Clarke's Life, vol. ii., p. 522; Dalrymple, Part III., Book III., p. 62.

§ The words 'even from Lord Middleton' are interlined in Lord Melfort's handwriting. See Macpherson, vol. i., p. 487.

deceived in the judgment I form of Admiral Russell; for that man has not acted sincerely, and I fear he will never act otherwise.'

The English translation of the copy made in French of Marlborough's paper, is as follows: 'It is but this day that it came to my knowledg what I now send you; which is that the Bomb Vessells and the twelve regiments now encamped at Portsmouth, together with the two Marine Regiments, are to be commanded by Talmach, and are designed to burn the harbour of Brest, and to destroy the men of war there; this would be great advantage to England, but no consideration can, or ever shall hinder me from letting you know what I think may be for your service, so you may make what use you think best of this intelligence, which you may depend upon as exactly true.'

In the translation given in James's Memoirs, Marlborough's letter ends here, but in the version given by Macpherson it continues thus: 'But I must conjure you for your own interest to let no one know it but the Queen, and the bearer of this letter. Russell sails to-morrow with forty ships, the rest being not yet paid; but it is said that in ten days the rest of the fleet will follow, and at the same time the land forces. I have endeavoured to learn this some time ago from Admiral Russell. But he always denied it to me, though I am very sure that he knew the design for more than six weeks. This gives me a bad sign of this man's intentions. I shall be very well pleased to learn that this letter comes safe to your hands.'* Marlborough's letter is not dated, but as Russell sailed on May 5, we may assume that his letter was written on the 4th, the day before—as he says—that event.

The authenticity of this letter is denied by some, because the original of neither Marlborough's nor Sackville's letter has ever been found; but the circumstantial evidence is

* For the English version see Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 522, and Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 487, and Dalrymple, Book III., Part III., p. 61.

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too strong to admit of doubt. It is certain that Marlborough was at this time in constant communication with James's emissaries in England, and that he was most anxious to convince his former master that he was sincerely devoted to his service. His only knowledge of when the fleet was to sail was derived from his intimate friend, Godolphin, by whom this news, except the actual date of sailing, had been already communicated to the French Court. Marlborough consequently knew that his letter could not injure England, whilst it would serve to impress James with the reality of his professions. We know, moreover, from James's own pen, that he had been early warned of this Brest expedition by Lord Arran as well as by Godolphin.*

The dates bearing upon this point deserve examination. $\frac{1}{14}$ 5, 1694. Sackville's letter of May $\frac{4}{14}$ from London could not have been deciphered, translated into French, and placed before $\frac{8}{18}$ 5, 1694. Lewis XIV. before the $\frac{8}{18}$ of that month at earliest. But a full month before that day Lewis, having already ascertained that Brest was to be attacked, sent orders to reinforce largely the ordinary garrison of 1,500 men, and to place the fortifications in a complete state of defence. His letter, now $\frac{4}{14}$ 4, 1694. in the military archives of Paris, is dated April $\frac{4}{14}$, and is addressed to his great engineer, Marshal Vauban. In it he says that he has learned from several sources that an attack on Brest is intended by 7,000 British troops and the combined navies of England and Holland. He does not think that the attack will succeed, but, as a precautionary measure, he has ordered two regiments of Horse and six battalions of Coastguards to proceed there. In terms most flattering to Vauban, the letter goes on to say that as soon as he has seen the other ports of Normandy he is to proceed to Brest, assume command, and use every effort to place it in an effective state of defence.

$\frac{1}{20}$ 4, 1694. Vauban was engaged in inspecting the ports of Normandy

* Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 523. Lord Arran and his father-in-law, Lord Sunderland, were as deeply implicated in this treasonable correspondence as either Marlborough or Godolphin.

when this letter reached him on April 26 at Conchée,* some twelve and a half miles from Brest. He acknowledged its receipt on the following day, saying that as the King had mentioned no date for his arrival at Brest, he would finish his work at St. Malo, before proceeding to take up his new command.† He reached Brest on May 13, and, in reporting his arrival, said that as yet no reinforcements had arrived. In another letter, written before the English fleet arrived, he assured the King 'that he need be under no apprehensions, for he had made all the subterranean passages under the Castle bomb-proof, and had mounted ninety mortars and three hundred guns in good positions: that all the ships of war had been secured beyond the range of the English shells: that the troops were in good order: and that there were three hundred bombardiers, the same number of gentlemen, four thousand regular infantry, and a regiment of Dragoons in the place.'‡

$\frac{13}{23}$ 5, 1694.

All this proves beyond doubt that Tollemache's disastrous failure was due to the completeness of the preparations made by Vauban, in obedience to orders from Lewis *three weeks before the date* of Marlborough's letter on the subject. Indeed it is quite certain that Tollemache's disaster would have taken place all the same, if Marlborough had been beheaded for treason two years before. But although it is thus clear that the gravest part of the charge against Marlborough cannot be sustained, he was none the less guilty of a high misdemeanour. To communicate with James, the declared enemy of his acknowledged Sovereign, was treason, notwithstanding the fact that William's enemies were regarded as England's best friends by a large and powerful section in the country.

When Marlborough sent this information to St. Germains, he was aware that it had been already communicated to

* This place is now spelt Conquet.

† His acknowledgment is in the military archives in Paris.

‡ Harris's 'Life of William,' vol. iii., Book VII., p. 299.

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King James by others. What were, then, his motives in this proceeding?

Some writers have asserted that his great object was to ruin the growing reputation of his one English rival, General Tollemache, by insuring his defeat. This is to attribute to him a Machiavellian malevolence so entirely foreign to his nature that we are justified in summarily rejecting an imputation which rests on no evidence of any kind. The story has its origin in a statement by Oldmixon to the effect that when Tollemache was dying he said he was betrayed, and named the traitors so that the Queen 'might be on her guard against those *pernicious Councillors who had retarded the descent*, and by that means given France time to fortify Brest,' etc.* It is evident that Tollemache could not have levelled his charge against Marlborough, for he was not then entrusted by the Queen with any secrets, nor was he one of her Council at the time.

No great man took more trouble to forecast the future than did Marlborough. Napoleon never looked forward beyond two years, but he tells us that he most carefully speculated upon what might possibly, and what would probably, happen in that time. Marlborough, however, always sought to divine, by analogy of the past and the present, what would be the course of events in England many years ahead. Yet he was no gambler at the game of life, and whether winning or losing he never wagered double or quits. He played for averages, preferring always to win a little on every throw rather than to risk largely in pursuit of great coups; and when, therefore, the stakes became high he invariably 'hedged' against all serious loss. This was no easy game to play when he began to foresee danger to the Revolution principles and to William's crown. He knew that many of the leading men were, like himself, disappointed with their share of the 'plunder,' and

* Macaulay refers to Oldmixon's History as 'an absurd romance,' vol. i., p. 608, note.

might at any moment turn against the King whom they had made. The French might carry everything before them in Flanders, or William—who always exposed himself much in action—might be killed. In short, there were a variety of chances in favour of James's restoration, and the far-seeing Marlborough desired to make himself safe in the event of any one of them coming off.

As time went on, and William became more and more unpopular, Marlborough's belief in the probability of James's restoration grew stronger, and his protestations became additionally effusive. But hitherto his professions had been unsupported by proofs, and when pressed to give some material evidence of his contrition for past offences, he seized upon the projected attack upon Brest as a good opportunity for apparent compliance. From his friends in office he had learnt the date upon which the fleet, without the troops, was to sail, and he knew that Godolphin, and possibly others, had already communicated its destination to St. Germains. Nothing he had to tell, as he was well aware, could therefore be really injurious to English interests; whereas, if cleverly laid before James, the intelligence would have such an air of treachery to William that it could not fail to strengthen the exiled King's belief in his good faith. The fact that he was still in disgrace at Court helped him much, for it was only natural that he should turn on William, who had showed him such scant consideration. William and Mary had disgraced, and subsequently imprisoned, him; what more likely, therefore, than that he should seek to be avenged upon them for the indignities and injuries which they had heaped upon him and upon his wife? As an injured man, he felt no difficulty under such circumstances in persuading himself that it could not be wrong to give James information which the latter had already received from others. To give still further proof of his sincerity, he caused Anne to write again to her father, and it would appear that in doing so she made some distinct proposals to him, for it is stated in a letter from [illegible] 7, 1694.

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Lord Middleton that James accepted in the main the terms specified.*

Judged by the modern standard of right and wrong, nothing could excuse Marlborough's letter to James, and although we know that it had nothing to do with bringing about the disaster in Cameret Bay, we do not hesitate to denounce it as treason against the England which we believe to be the heritage of the English people. But in his day every State, with its inhabitants, was still deemed to be the personal property of its Sovereign Lord. The sentiments of nationality and patriotism, as we understand them, had then but little hold upon popular imagination.

The career of Lord Sunderland, the trusted Minister of Charles, James, and William, affords a striking parallel case of how unfaithful men could be to their public trusts at this epoch, for whilst in William's confidence he sent James early news of an intended attack upon Toulon.† But the betrayal of secrets to an enemy was not then regarded as the crime we now consider it to be, and it must be remembered, that when two kings claimed the allegiance of the people, loyalty to one was necessarily treason to the other.

Many are of opinion that we are punished in this world for our sins. Queen Anne believed that her children died in infancy as a punishment for her treason to her father; and for his faults, whatever they were, Marlborough certainly suffered severely in this world. We may consider it a well-merited punishment for his treasonable dealings with James that he should have been driven from power at the end of his illustrious career by a mere clique of party politicians, and that he should have reaped such harsh ingratitude from the nation which he had made great. He himself, however, considered his offence venial, and looked upon his

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 488.

† Lord Arran, Sunderland's son-in-law, wrote to James $\frac{13}{23}$ 3, 1695, to tell him we were fitting out an expedition to attack Toulon, and says: 'It is Lord Sunderland who has given me in charge to assure your Majesty of this.'

dismissal from office by William, and his downfall in Queen Anne's reign, as mere freaks of fortune, as bad throws in the game of life. According to his notions, he had not sinned, because he had only done as others did. The sincere rebel is often guilty of treason from the noblest motives; but, alas! in Marlborough's treason there was no sincerity, for it had its origin in an ignoble and unworthy regard for personal safety. Thus, though technically we can acquit him of the responsibility of Tollemache's disaster, we are nevertheless bound to admit the deceit and insincerity of his conduct in this unfortunate affair. The casuist may seek to extenuate Marlborough's conduct, but it cannot be forgotten that the great man for whom England built Blenheim Palace did intrigue with his country's enemies. It is true, Marlborough never anticipated that the information which he and his friends sent to James would lead to loss of English life, for he shared the belief of the King, Shrewsbury and others, that if Tollemache found the garrison prepared for attack he would not land his troops. Indeed, it is but fair, as well as reasonable, to believe this of Marlborough.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

QUEEN MARY'S DEATH.

Efforts made to induce William to re-employ Marlborough—Effect of Queen Mary's death on William—Anne makes friends with the King —Namur capitulates to William.

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THE King left England for Holland early in May. His army in Flanders this year consisted of about 31,000 Horse and Dragoons and 51,000 Foot, besides a detached force near Ghent of some 7,000 men. The campaign which followed is dull reading, for the history of its marches and countermarches, of the lines and entrenchments from behind which the two armies watched each other, is neither interesting nor instructive. Both sides were apparently reflecting on the old French maxim—'A battle lost loses more than a victory gains.' The capture of the little town of Huy was all that William had to offer the English people in return for the millions which they had placed at his disposal; he lost no battles, for he fought none.

Great efforts were made by Marlborough's friends this year to induce William to re-employ him. But the King still mistrusted, feared and disliked him, and was jealous of his reputation with the people. The Duke of Shrewsbury always befriended him, and he now tells William in a letter 'it is impossible to forget what is here become a very great discourse—the popularity and convenience of receiving Lord Marlborough into your favour. He has been with me since the news' of this failure at Brest,

$\frac{2}{2}$-$\frac{6}{7}$, 1694.

'to offer his service, with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable. What I can say by way of persuasion upon this subject will signify but little, since I very well remember when your Majesty discoursed with me upon it in the spring you were sufficiently convinced of his usefulness.' 'It is so unquestionably his interest to be faithful that that single argument makes me not doubt it.' In reply to this advice William, writing from 'Camp at Rosebeck,' says coldly: 'As to what you wrote in your last letter concerning Lord Marlborough I can say no more than that I do not think it for the good of my service to entrust him with the command of my troops.'* It is curious to note that this renewed offer of his services was made only a few weeks after the date of his alleged letter to James, in which he told him of the intended attack upon Brest; also that Shrewsbury, who thoroughly understood Marlborough, and who was himself one of the many men of influence then in correspondence with the exiled Court, states in his letter to the King the broad fact that it was Marlborough's interest to maintain the Revolution settlement.

But Queen Mary, the most serious obstacle to Marlborough's re-employment, was now to be removed from his path. She was attacked in December with small-pox, and, after an illness of only a week, died at Kensington Palace $\frac{28}{7}$-$\frac{1}{8}$, 1694. in the thirty-third year of her age. Her loss stunned the nation for the moment, and was regarded as a national disaster. But over and above the sorrow it occasioned on public grounds, the grief was deep and sincere, for she was personally beloved by the people, and the unpopularity of her husband seemed to intensify the respect and devotion entertained for her by all classes.† Her death was a great blow to the King, and filled him with remorse; it shook the

* Shrewsbury Correspondence.

† Her life was a sad one owing to the cruel treatment she received from her ungenerous husband. Death must have been a relief to her. Burnet says she 'seemed to desire death rather than life.'

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foundations of his Throne, and revived the Jacobite hopes both in England and at St. Germains. Furthermore, this sad event made it necessary that he should at least appear to be on the best of terms with his heiress by law, the Princess Anne, whom he had never liked, whilst he despised her unwieldy and stupid husband. At the instigation of the Marlboroughs and Lord Sunderland, Anne took the initiative, wrote an affectionate and dutiful letter of condolence to William, and begged him to see her. The interview was satisfactory to both parties, and the King, to mark his appreciation of Anne's conduct in this matter and to bind her the more closely to him, gave her St. James's Palace as a residence, and presented her with Queen Mary's jewels. His prejudice against the Marlboroughs, however, still remained as before, and his continued refusal to employ the only able English General of the day exhibited alike a want of wisdom and of gratitude. William not only ignored the valuable military services which Marlborough had rendered him, but he also failed to recognise his recent conciliatory influence with the Princess. When Mary died there was a large party who wished to embarrass the King by insisting that the Parliament summoned by William and Mary conjointly had come to an end according to custom upon the demise of the Crown. Had the Marlboroughs, in revenge for William's harsh treatment, urged Anne to make common cause with that party, the position of the King would have been rendered extremely difficult, if not unsafe.

The Marlboroughs certainly did much to bring about a good understanding between the King and Anne. Had they opposed it, Anne would not have written to William as she did, nor would she have made the first overtures for a reconciliation, which was then so necessary to William. Indeed, considering the treatment which Marlborough had received from the King, it was as creditable to his Christian feelings as it was to his worldly wisdom that he should have done so much to restore amicable relations between William

and his sister-in-law. Anne, by the advice of the Marlboroughs, went out of her way to make it publicly known that she was now once more on the best of terms with her brother-in-law the King, and their reconciliation became forthwith a subject of general rejoicing. A military guard of honour was again placed over her house, and she was again shown all the outward forms of respect usually paid to members of the Royal Family. It was soon currently reported that as a reward for all this the Marlboroughs were to be again received at Court and restored to favour.* This was not to be, however, for some years.

In writing about these events in the following January, the Duke of Shrewsbury says: 'Since the Queen's death, and the reconciliation between the King and Princess, her court is as much courted as it was before deserted. She has omitted no opportunity to shew her zeal for His Majesty and his Government; and our friend' (Marlborough), 'who has no small credit with her, seems very resolved to contribute to the continuance of this union, as the only thing that can support her or both. I do not see he is likely at present to get much by it, not having yet kissed the King's hand; but his reversion is very fair and great.'†

The events of 1693 and 1694 were not calculated to increase the popularity of William or his Government. The taxes were heavy, and although immense sums were spent upon the army and navy, England had failed both by sea and by land. William's gifts of Crown lands, salaries, and pensions to his own countrymen were still the common talk of the town. Plots and conspiracies disquieted society, and Jacobite treason was rampant everywhere. Ministers were bitterly attacked in the House of Commons upon the state of the revenue, and upon the great subsidies paid to foreign Powers for their adherence to the 'Grand Alliance'—a policy which few understood and fewer still appreciated.

* Charles Hatton to Viscount Hatton, $\frac{10}{20}$ 1, $169\frac{4}{5}$.

† Shrewsbury Correspondence, p. 220.

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Throughout 1695 there was a constant interchange of ideas between St. Germains and the Jacobites, both real and pretended. Marlborough is frequently referred to in this correspondence as an important factor in the proposed attempt to reinstate James now that Queen Mary was dead. In the cipher correspondence which Lord Middleton kept up with his agents in England he is generally referred to as 'the Hamburgh Merchant.' Mid-

5, 1695. dleton writes in May: 'I the more earnestly desired yours, that I might be the more particularly informed concerning the Hamburgh partner, from whom I have not heard of a great while, which you may know, for I never had any of his letters, but under your cover. I shall not write to him, till I hear further from you. If you think of any particular thing, that you judge proper for me to say to him, pray give him a hint of it; for some matters must be managed with great caution, and you can best judge on the place. I wonder the less, that I should be ignorant of his contract, since you are. Though I am confident he means well: yet I beg you would let me know what you can observe; nor is

$\frac{17}{27}$ 5, 1695. it fit to show him this.' Writing a few weeks later, he says that things at St. Germains remain unchanged. In reference to the coming dissolution of Parliament, he says: 'I think it would be fit, that the Hamburgh partner should give the consul an account how far the interest of the company may be concerned in it, and of what may be advisable in this conjuncture; and in the meantime, to bestir himself.'* From these and other letters between the conspirators, it would seem that Marlborough seldom committed himself in writing. He spoke to the agents in England, who wrote to either Melfort or Middleton at St. Germains. The reports of these agents cannot be entirely relied on, since they were constantly deceived by those who, like Marlborough, Sunderland, Godolphin, and others, were merely pretended Jacobites. Indeed, Lord Middleton

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 525.

himself appears to have been deceived by Marlborough's protestations of loyalty to James. CHAPTER LXXIX.

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In this year's campaign in Flanders, as in Marlborough's campaign of 1705, everything pointed at one time to a decisive battle in the neighbourhood of Waterloo, from which place one of William's letters is dated.* Namur capitulated to William on September 5. But in spite of this reverse, the French army in the field was still too strong to be attacked with any reasonable chance of success. The capture of Namur was the first great success in William's Continental wars since his accession to the Throne, and it greatly increased his military reputation. Even in Rome, the champion of Protestantism was looked upon with favour as a deliverer from the ecclesiastical tyranny of Lewis XIV., while in England he became for the time almost popular. He returned to England in October, and dissolved Parliament. Supported by the Whig party, he obtained a decided majority at the General Election. The new House of Commons granted the supplies William asked for, and fixed the establishment of the army for the following year at 88,000 men of all ranks.

10, 10, 1695 (N.S.

* Ranke, vol. v., p. 95.

CHAPTER LXXX.

SIR JOHN FENWICK'S PLOT.—THE PEACE OF RYSWICK.

Lewis XIV. again contemplates the invasion of England—Fenwick names Marlborough and others as his accomplices—Peterborough accused of coaching Fenwick—Godolphin quits office—England nearly bankrupt—Peace made—Sunderland's villainy.

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LEWIS XIV. now began to view with grave apprehension the growing power of William in the Netherlands, and a careful survey of the general position convinced him that his enemy was more open to attack in England than in Flanders. All the available English and Scotch regiments were engaged abroad in what seemed to the English people an interminable war, waged exclusively for Dutch interests. No more than 14,000 troops remained at home for the protection of our coasts. Lewis was kept well informed upon all such points by his guest at St. Germains. The Jacobite party in England was strong and confident. The Protestant Tories had laid down the terms upon which they were prepared to accept James as King, and he had unwillingly agreed to them. He doubtless consoled himself with the reflection that, once on the Throne, he need pay as little heed to his promises as he had done to his Coronation Oath. Queen Mary's death had considerably strengthened James's cause in England. As long as his eldest daughter was on the Throne, although she only shared it with her husband, those who believed in hereditary right felt that the sentiment was not ignored or forgotten. But when her widower, who was not a Stewart, continued

to reign alone after her death, the weakness—the illegality, as a large class deemed it—of his Parliamentary title filled the believers in the Divine Right of Kings with pious horror. The Jacobite agents in England, ever sanguine, reported the kingdom to be ripe for a rising. Everything conspired to favour the movement if supported by the presence in England of James himself at the head of an efficient French army. Lewis accordingly despatched some 12,000 troops to Dunkirk and Calais, where ships for their conveyance to England were rapidly collected, while the unhappy James was hurried off to the coast at the beginning of March. 2, 3, 1696 (N.S.).

But with James's usual want of luck, the discovery at this moment of Sir John Fenwick's plot against William's life excited universal horror, and the whole country was raised to fever-heat by the atrocity of the intended crime. Even a large section of the Jacobites shared this sentiment. The result was the complete overthrow of the plans for a rising in England; and the destination of the expeditionary force having been discovered, all chance of surprise, and therefore of success, was at an end. The poor dethroned King returned broken-hearted to his wife, his penance, and his priests. Fenwick was captured in June, and endeavoured to save his life by a disclosure of all the Jacobite plans and conspiracies with which he was acquainted. The Duke of Devonshire—then Lord High Steward—visited him in prison, and received from him a paper wherein he named Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Marlborough, and Bath, also Admiral Russell, as implicated in the Jacobite plots.* He asserted that all of them had begged for forgiveness, and had been pardoned by James, who counted on securing the co-operation of the army through Marlborough's influence with the officers, and that of the navy through Admiral Russell. His gravest charges were, however, directed against Shrewsbury and Godolphin, who, he declared, had

* See Journal of House of Commons of $\frac{6}{16}$ 11, 1696, for copy of Fenwick's paper.

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for many years acted under James's orders, although they were also William's trusted Ministers.

Fenwick's charges were undoubtedly true, and all those he named were in frequent correspondence with St. Germains. But he only knew this indirectly through others. He had not had direct communication with any of them, and consequently he could of himself prove nothing. The fact, however, that a Jacobite gentleman should turn King's evidence, even to save his life, was a serious warning to both Marlborough and Godolphin. It made them realize the risks to which their treasonable correspondence exposed them, and although they had no intention of fulfilling their promises to James, the letters containing those promises placed their lives at William's mercy.

This event marked a turning-point in their dealings with James, and in the mode which they subsequently employed to impress him with a belief in their feigned sympathy. Thenceforward they abstained from committing themselves in writing, though they still continued to have interviews with James's agents, and were loud in protestations of loyalty, and good wishes for his return. These messages were transmitted to St. Germains in the words of the agents to whom they were personally given, and were often highly coloured in the process. It was these agents' business to give James news, and without doubt they were often led away by the specious character of the messages they received. In his Memoirs, James says that after the Fenwick plot Marlborough, Godolphin, Shrewsbury, and Russell urged as a reason for the discontinuance of their written correspondence with him that their secrets had been betrayed by his agents. He adds: 'It is doubtful whether this was a disadvantage in respect of such men. It was a check, however, upon better men.'

Without doubt William obtained excellent information of all that went on in the squabbling little Court at St. Germains. James was fully aware that his secrets were betrayed, and he had long suspected Godolphin to be the

traitor. William certainly learnt much of the Jacobite schemes from Sunderland and Caermarthen, both of whom, apparently with his knowledge, corresponded with James and professed the deepest interest in his cause merely to betray it. And yet these men esteemed themselves and were by others esteemed English gentlemen!

William, whilst always ready to get rid of insignificant enemies, like Fenwick, when they plotted against him, never displayed the least anxiety to bring to the block any of the leading men who had helped him to the Throne, even when their complicity with treason was beyond all doubt. It was not that he was indifferent to their double-dealing, but that he was generous enough to make allowances for men in their unenviable position. Perhaps some remembrance of his own duplicity may have disposed him to leniency. Circumstances compelled James to employ Marlborough, Godolphin and Shrewsbury, and to treat them as loyal well-wishers, whilst he knew them to be insincere; but William of his own accord made use of men whom he knew to be in treasonable correspondence with St. Germains.

In one of Mr. Vernon's letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury, $\frac{27}{8}$-$\frac{19}{11}$, 1696. describing a meeting at the house of Lord Somers, there is this significant sentence:* 'It was declared the King was disposed to do whatever should be thought best for the vindication of your Grace and Mr. Russell.† But I perceive he was not alike concerned to discredit the paper on other accounts.' From this it would seem that whilst sincerely interested in the two who are named, he did not care what charges were brought against Marlborough and Godolphin. Mr. Vernon kept the Duke of Shrewsbury fully acquainted with all that was extracted from Fenwick, and with the King's thoughts on the matter. He did the same to Lord Marlborough, whom he told that the Duke had 'enquired after him.' In another letter he says that

* Vernon was then Secretary of State.

† Meaning Admiral Russell.

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Marlborough 'seems very hearty in this matter, and as if he would push it.'* All the accused felt their guilt, but as they had had no negotiations or intercourse with Fenwick, they knew that his statements must have been made on hearsay. They could, therefore, truthfully say in Parliament that they had not even seen their accuser since the Revolution. In some of Vernon's letters he mentions that 'Marlborough waits for a sure hand to send letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury by,' a proof that he had things to say in which both were interested, but which he would not like his enemies to know.

The Bill of Attainder brought forward against Fenwick was opposed in the House of Commons, the accused being present. During the discussion, Marlborough's brother-in-law, Colonel Godfrey, rose and said: 'I desire some questions may be asked him in relation to a noble Lord, my Lord Marlborough.' 'I would have him asked whether since the beginning of this war, or from the time of the King's landing, Sir John Fenwick did ever speak to him in publick or private, or ever did write to him or receive any message by word of mouth, or letter from my Lord Marlborough. He says some service he promised King James, inclined him to promise him his pardon. I would know what that service was? and in relation to his sending Lloyd into France, whether he can by anybody else make that appear?' The Bill was equally opposed in the House of Lords, and in the following letters Marlborough gives the Duke of Shrewsbury an account of Fenwick's appearance there:

$\frac{1}{23}$ 11, 1696.

'Wednesday night.—Although I have not troubled your Grace with my letters, I have not been wanting in inquiring constantly how you did. I did, about a fortnight ago, write a letter to acquaint you with what I had observed of some people, in hopes Mr. Arden would have called upon me, as he promised. But I did not care to send it by post, and so it was burnt. We had yesterday Sir John Fenwick at the

* Vernon to Shrewsbury, $\frac{24}{4}$-$\frac{11}{12}$, 1696.

house, and I think it all went as you could wish. I do not send you the particulars, knowing that you must have it more exactly from others; but I should be wanting if I did not let you know that Lord Rochester has behaved himself on all this occasion like a friend. In a conversation he had with me, he expressed himself as a real friend of yours; and I think it would not be amiss if you took notice of it to him. If you think me capable of any commands, I shall endeavour to approve myself, what I am with much truth, etc., MARLBOROUGH.'*

The Bill only passed by a majority of seven, and even that was only secured by the eloquence and persistency of Lord Somers. The Whig Lords were much influenced by party spirit as well as by private friendship for Shrewsbury and for Admiral Russell, the brother of their Whig martyr. Prince George of Denmark—presumably at Marlborough's instigation—supported the Bill, whilst forty peers recorded their protest against it. Marlborough took part in the debate, and spoke bitterly against the prisoner. 'He did not wonder,' he said, 'to find a man in danger, willing to throw his guilt upon any other body: that he (Marlborough) had some satisfaction to be owned in such good company; but he assured their Lordships that he had no sort of conversation with Fenwick upon any account whatsoever, since this Government, and this he asserted upon his word of honour.'† Lords Bath and Godolphin made similar protestations of innocence.

To those who see in the mad, vain and vicious Peterborough—then Lord Monmouth—a sort of mediæval hero, the history of Fenwick's condemnation should be painful reading. Desiring above all things to be well talked about, he was never unwilling to attack even his oldest friends if he could thereby ensure notoriety. He was jealous of everyone in power, and always anxious to injure their

* Shrewsbury Papers.

† Coxe's Shrewsbury Papers, p. 438. This extract from Marlborough's speech is given by Lord Wharton in a letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

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reputation and undermine their authority. At first he suspected—possibly with some reason—that his name was included in the list of those whom Fenwick charged with treason. When he ascertained that this was not so, he did what he could to strengthen the accusations against Shrewsbury, Marlborough and Godolphin, all of whom, and especially the last-named, he was at that time most anxious to destroy.* He wrote to tell Fenwick how his charges could be pressed with most telling effect, adding that 'he liked the accusation so well.'† He advised him to cross-examine Marlborough as to the events which brought about his dismissal from Court, and that the King should be appealed to on this point. One of the informers, a villain of the worst sort named Read, had for some time previously been in Monmouth's pay.‡

When this infamous intrigue was discovered, many of the Lords were against pressing home the charges against Peterborough. Others—amongst whom was Marlborough—urged that he was looked upon by them 'as the contriver of those papers' which had been sent to Fenwick, telling how he should press his charges against those he had named as traitors. They thought the judgment of the House ought, therefore, to be pronounced upon the matter. This being agreed to, the Lords, after due consideration of the evidence before them, committed him to the Tower; the King removed him from the Privy Council, and dismissed him from all his offices. There can be little doubt that Fenwick's charges against the Lords whom he named would have been substantiated had he followed Lord Monmouth's advice, although by doing so he would not have saved his life, for the Whigs were determined that he should die.

These events were followed in October by Godolphin's

* Vernon to Shrewsbury, 29, 10, 1696.

† Lexington Papers, p. 237.

‡ Vernon to Shrewsbury, $\frac{24}{4}$-$\frac{9}{10}$, 1696. 'Letters Illustrative of William III.'s Reign,' edited by G. P. R. James.

retirement from office. He had long been anxious to quit the Treasury, but had been persuaded by the King to remain. Naturally timid, his guilty conscience made him dread the publication of his correspondence with James II., and Fenwick's recent disclosures made him realize the danger of his position. Besides, William's foreign wars and reckless expenditure of public money had brought the revenue and the finances into serious confusion, and, as head of the Treasury, Godolphin felt that he might at any moment be called to account by a hostile Parliament.*

England was never nearer national bankruptcy than in this year, and no one understood this fact more clearly than Godolphin. Towards the end of the year money was so scarce that Exchequer tallies could not be cashed in the open market at less than thirty per cent. discount. When the Bank of England consented to advance £200,000 for the use of the army, nine per cent. was charged for the loan. The cost of the war appeared all the more enormous as the revenue had suffered severely from the state to which the currency had been reduced by the practice of 'clipping.' The amount of coin in circulation was too small for the ordinary trade of the country, and the large amounts of gold and silver sent away to the army in Flanders greatly aggravated the evil.

The projected invasion of England having come to nothing, Lewis began to feel that, all things considered, a general peace would be most to his advantage. The health of the poor imbecile King of Spain was bad, and at his death, which might occur at any moment, Lewis intended to claim his throne for Philip of Anjou, his younger grandson. Were the Grand Alliance in full force when that event occurred, its members would certainly fight to prevent the accomplishment of this intention. It was, therefore, of the first consequence to break up this formidable confederacy

* That Godolphin's retirement from office was not prompted by any love for James is very clearly argued in his recent Life by the Hon. Hugh Elliot.

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by means of a general peace. Once formally dissolved, it could not be easily or quickly re-established, and in the meantime, upon the death of King Charles, the French army might seize both Madrid and the Spanish Netherlands.

The terms for a general treaty of peace were soon agreed upon. They were based upon the provisions of the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen. Strasburg was to be given back to the empire, and William was to be unreservedly acknowledged as King of England. The treaty of peace

$\frac{1}{20}$ 9, 1697.

was signed at midnight on September 10, 1697, by the representatives of England, France, and Holland, in the palace of Ryswick, by which name it is still known in history. Lewis agreed to throw over the interests of his poor pensioner, James II., who was naturally furious, for the treaty seemed to destroy his only chance of restoration to the English throne. The fact that it did not prevent Lewis from formally recognising the Pretender upon the death of James proves how little reliance can be placed upon treaties made with great military powers by a nation which has a small army and objects to war on principle. This treaty made no provision for the disposal of the Spanish Empire upon the death of King Charles, the final settlement of which had been one of William's chief objects when he began the war eight years before. The peace was not in accordance with William's wishes, and, indeed, it was little more than a truce forced upon him by his English subjects in their ignorance of foreign affairs. But considering that he had been almost always unsuccessful in the war which now came to an end, he obtained from France—at least, on paper—all he could at the time have fairly expected. It is not uncommon to find these inconclusive campaigns derided, and to be told that they led to nothing; but those who say so are not well read in military history. Although they added no names to the roll of national victories, yet they were not to England a mere waste of men and money, for they saved us from invasion. It was

better to spend largely upon indecisive military operations in Flanders, than to run the risk of defeat upon the chalk ridges between London and the coast.

Sunderland, who was utterly devoid of principle, although popularly supposed to entertain liberal, if not republican, views, was bent upon getting back to office and power. The most crafty and skilful intriguer perhaps in our history, he left no means untried to ingratiate himself with William, and he succeeded. Anne, when Princess of Denmark, called him in a letter to her sister, 'the subtillest, workinest villain that is on the face of the earth.'* Although he had been specially excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1689, yet William often consulted him privately. Indeed, he was the only Englishman on whose opinions the King set any value, and it was by his advice that the Whigs were recalled to office. In April he was once more made a Privy Councillor, and given the important position of Lord Chamberlain. As the King's favourite, he soon became odious to the people, and during the last years of the century the old ill-feeling and jealousy about the King's preference for foreigners was forgotten in the intense popular dislike to Sunderland. During the royal progress of 1695, William bestowed the first outward mark of favour upon Sunderland by staying five days with him at Althorp, and no doubt he turned this opportunity for intimacy with the King to good account. When restored to power he managed the public business in both Houses of Parliament with consummate skill, and obtained for himself a greater position than he had filled at any previous period of his eventful but ignoble career. 'What is one man better than another?' was a favourite saying of his, and one on which he habitually acted. The character of those he employed mattered nothing to him, provided he could make them useful. It was commonly thought at the time, that he had urged William into the long War of Succession, in order that Marlborough, Godolphin, and

April 6, 1697.

* This letter is dated the Cockpit, March 20, 1687.

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his own son might derive advantage from it, but those who believed this had no insight into William's character or aims. He required no encouragement to make war with France, for his great object always was to prevent her from becoming the mistress of Europe.

The restoration to favour of Sunderland has been dwelt upon, as it paved the way to Marlborough's forgiveness and re-employment.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

MARLBOROUGH FORGIVEN AND RE-EMPLOYED.

Marlborough's mother dies—He is made Governour to the Duke of Gloucester—He has the gout—Parliament demands the reduction of the Army, but will not vote the money to pay off the soldiers—William wishes to abdicate, but gives up the idea to please the Whigs.

MARLBOROUGH'S mother died early in this year, after a long life of startling vicissitudes.* Born early in the reign of Charles I., she had lived through all the stormy times of the Great Rebellion. Her first child was born just a year before the murder of that ill-starred King. Condemned to poverty during the Commonwealth for the loyalty of her husband and his father, she lived to hear the name of Cromwell execrated, and to see all her children well provided for. She died, however, before her great son had been restored to his old position in the army and the State. As already told, she was a woman of a quarrelsome disposition, and it is remarkable that the three women with whom Marlborough was most intimately associated in life —his mother, wife, and mother-in-law—were all cursed with violent and uncontrollable tempers.

William had often been heard to express regret that he could not entrust Marlborough with any high military command. But now that Queen Mary was dead, there was no longer the same obstacle to his re-employment. Little by little all through 1697 he seems to have become less

* She died $\frac{15}{25}$ 2, $169\frac{7}{8}$.

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obnoxious to William, upon whom the Duke of Shrewsbury repeatedly urged his claims for employment. Shrewsbury's friends were the friends of his follower Mr. Vernon, then the Secretary of State, and he too favoured Marlborough as the Tory General who had so effectively assisted the Whig conspirators at the Revolution. There was at least one bond of union between Shrewsbury and Marlborough in the fact that both were suspected, and with equal justice, of treasonable correspondence with the exiled James. In February Mr. Vernon tells the Duke of Shrewsbury that 'an exchange is negotiating that Lord Marlborough should be Chamberlain and then Governour of the Duke of Gloucester, but I know nothing of it otherwise, but I observed Lord Marlborough is frequently with the King, and therefore I hope they are well together.'* Marlborough was naturally most anxious to be re-employed—forty-eight years of age and left idle for the last six years, whilst men who were not worthy to unloose his shoe-latchet were in the enjoyment of high offices and great salaries. But the time had now arrived when all was to be forgiven, and he was once more to enjoy the King's favour.

The Duke of Gloucester was now nine years old, and the King felt bound to provide him with a household befitting his position as heir-presumptive to the Crown. When Parliament fixed the King's revenue for life at £700,000 per annum it was on the understanding that £600,000 was for himself, £50,000 for Mary, wife of James II., and the remaining £50,000 for the support of the Duke of Gloucester's establishment; but the jointure was never paid, and not more than about £15,000 per annum was ever expended on behalf of the young Prince.† Now that the latter was to have an establishment suited to his rank, Marlborough, who was still unemployed, was strongly recommended by Sunderland and others for the office of Governour. The Princess Anne was naturally in favour of an arrangement that would retain near her son the services

* Spencer House Papers.

† 'The Conduct,' p. 117.

of one in whom she reposed entire confidence. William, though he fully appreciated the ability of the man he had disgraced, was still unprepared to employ him, and his prejudice was fostered by Portland and other Dutch courtiers who were jealous of his genius. To save himself from having to offer the position to Marlborough, William pressed it upon Shrewsbury, who, excusing himself on the score of failing health, joined Lord Sunderland in urging the King to confer it upon Marlborough. This advice was backed up by William's new Dutch favourite, Keppel, lately created Lord Albemarle. Of the few upon whom the post could with any show of propriety be conferred, Rochester, Anne's uncle, was one; but being a violent Tory Churchman, and neither a wise nor a safe public servant, it was not desirable that he should acquire an influence over the heir-presumptive to the Throne. The King, thus driven into a corner, was in the end constrained to forego his objections and to offer the governourship to Marlborough. His knowledge of how acceptable the arrangement would be to the Princess Anne weighed with him somewhat in the withdrawal of his opposition. He announced the selection to the Privy Council, and said that he would appoint a committee to settle the young Prince's household.* He was wise enough to make this restoration to favour as flattering as possible to Marlborough. When the newly-appointed Governour kissed hands upon his appointment, William said: 'My lord, teach him to be like yourself, and my nephew will not want for accomplishments.'† His salary as Governour was fixed at £2,000 per annum. Dr. Burnet, 'the blabbing Bishop,' as the High Churchmen and Tories contemptuously styled him, was made the young Prince's spiritual preceptor, much against Anne's wish, for she did not like him. She wished to have her old tutor, Dean Hooper, who had been chaplain to the

$\frac{12}{22}$ 4, 1698.

* Vernon to Shrewsbury, $\frac{14}{24}$ 6, 1698.

† 'Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals,' p. 33; Coxe, vol. i., p. 87.

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1698.

Princess of Orange in Holland, but William, who hated him, refused his consent.* Burnet and Marlborough had long been acquainted, and now, through constant intercourse in the Prince's household, there sprang up between them the closest friendship and a strong mutual esteem. The King made use of Burnet, for whom, however, he had no personal regard. The Bishop was a Churchman of broad views, and consequently in touch with the great bulk of the Protestants of all Denominations; but he wished to be a statesman, and William would not tolerate episcopal interference in public affairs. In the following year an attack was made upon Burnet in the House of Commons by the Tories, and it was urged that the King should be requested to remove him from the Prince's household. Marlborough was much concerned for his friend, and he persuaded his brother George, a violent Tory, to leave the House before the division took place. The motion was defeated, but had it succeeded the intention was to get rid of Marlborough also, to make way for the Tory Rochester.†

$\frac{12}{23}$ 12, 1699.

There was a considerable amount of friction between the King and the Princess regarding the selection of the young Duke's household, for William positively refused to appoint several of Anne's nominees. In the following characteristic letter Lady Marlborough refers to this.

'I give you many thanks for the book you ded me the favour to leave at my lodgings for me, and I was sorry you would not come up, since you took soe much trouble as to come to my door. I have sent you three dozen and three pairs of gloves, which I desire you will try to get the gentleman you said was going to France to carry with him. Hee will find noe difficulty at the custome hous here if his things are to be seen; but in France those sort of things are forbid, and therefore I trouble you with them, because I can't send them as one does other goods that one may have in that countrey for paying for, but I conclude they

* Trevor's 'Life and Times of William III.,' vol. ii., p. 479.

† Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, $\frac{14}{24}$ 12, 1699.

are not soe exact, but that a gentleman may carry any thing of that nature and they won't dispute it. They must bee given to Madam Dumene, without naming my sister at all, and if it bee as easy to you I beleeve it will bee best not to name me to the gentleman you give 'em to, who I conclude you know enough to ask such a favour from, but if hee won't undertake it I desire you would bee pleased to let the gloves bee sent again to my porter at St. James's, and I must try to find some other opertunity of sending them.*

'If you should happen to see Mrs. Lee, that desired a place for her son about the Duke of Gloucester, pray oblige me soe much as to tell her I was very sorry not to have it in my power to serve her in that matter, but the king put in the queen's servants into all those places that she proposed for him, and the querry, who is Mr. Wentworth, was allsoe by the king's order placed, I suppose obtain'd by Lord Raby's interest. I would have waited upon her my self to have given her this account, but I am just going into the countrey & have not soe much time, & I beleeve Lord Marleborough has lesse, who should have don it.

'Dear uncle, forgive this long letter and trouble I give you, and beleeve tis from one that would doe a great deal more for you if it were in my power, and am,' etc.

Marlborough, thus restored to favour, immediately resumed the prominent position in the country which he had formerly held. He was again made a Privy Councillor, and took his seat in June. Vernon writes: 'He will be a very fit man to be one of the Lords Justices, there being a want of such,'† and when the King embarked for Holland in July he was accordingly made one, and took an active part in the government of the country during William's absence. $\frac{11}{21}$ 6, 1698. $\frac{16}{26}$ 7, 1698.

Abstemious as he was, Marlborough suffered this summer from gout, but it was not bad enough to confine him to the

* It is curious to find that in 1698, when this letter was written, English-made gloves were evidently more prized at St. Germains than those made in Paris.

† Vernon to Shrewsbury, $\frac{11}{21}$ 6, 1698.

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house. With the exception of this hereditary ailment, which never attacked him seriously, and the severe headaches which now and then rendered him scarcely capable of transacting public business, his health was still extremely good, nor did any amount of work or trouble appear to weary him.

1698.

The public rejoicings in England at the Peace of Ryswick were scarcely over before a loud and general clamour arose for the reduction of the army. The country was overburdened with taxes, the military expenditure was heavy, and the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace was odious to the people. Knowing that he must yield on this point, William conceived the plan of keeping eighteen troops of Horse, four regiments of Dragoons and twenty battalions of Foot permanently in Ireland, where, since their maintenance would be a charge upon the Irish Exchequer, the English Parliament would have no control over them. In his speech at the opening of Parliament he advised the country not to risk the loss of the good terms just obtained from France by a too early disbandment of the army, and he warned his hearers that England, under the condition of things prevailing abroad, could not 'be safe without a land force.' He ended his speech with these memorable words: 'And as I have, with the hazard of everything, rescued your religion, laws and liberties when they were in the extremest danger, so I shall place the glory of my reign in preserving them entire and leaving them so to posterity.'

1668.

But in their ignorance of foreign affairs the House of Commons would not listen to William's wise, far-seeing advice, and resolved to disband all the regiments raised since 1680. Had this resolution been literally carried out, it would have reduced the English standing army to a total of about 7,000 men. This conduct on the part of Parliament struck the King as not only foolish, but ungenerous and ungracious to himself. He knew what he had done for England, and brooded over this rebuff, which

preyed upon his mind and served to intensify his dislike for Parliamentary government and English politicians. Long experience had taught him that a nation, devoid of military strength, carried little weight in the councils of Europe. What foreign Power would value the alliance of a King who could only command the services of 7,000 fighting men? He was haunted by the dread that, when the French King came to hear of the disbandment of the English army, he would not carry out the stipulations of the treaty which he had just signed.

The old arguments against a standing army, so common in all times of peace, were repeated, and long speeches were made—speeches which might have been made in the House of Commons yesterday—to prove that 'England could defend herself both from foreign and domestic dangers by a militia of her own people regularly trained, and which had much interest to defend, and none to attack liberties that were her own.'* As usual, there was much wild and ignorant talk on this well-worn subject, which admits of so much cheap sentiment and canting patriotism. On the occasion in question, however, the pent-up energy of the House found vent in words only, which escaped like the steam from a safety-valve. Members lacked the hardihood to allot a sufficient sum of public money to pay off the soldiers then serving, and without which they could not be disbanded. This enabled the King to retain them until Parliament met again in December.

The new House of Commons was even more determined to reduce the army than its predecessor had been. It voted the disbandment of all the troops in England beyond 7,000 and of those in Ireland beyond 12,000 men.† To

* Dalrymple, vol. iii., Part III., Book VII., p. 175. See 'A Short History of Standing Armies in England,' London, printed for A. Baldwin, 1698, and several other pamphlets of same date on this subject.

† The English army was to consist of three troops of Horse Guards (543 men), one troop of Grenadier Guards (175 men), seven regiments of Horse (2,020 men), three of Dragoons (849 men), and five of Foot

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emphasize their determination, it was resolved: 'That the troops which remained should consist, both officers and men, of natural-born subjects.' This was, of course, directly aimed at the King's Dutch Guards, his pet regiments of French refugee Protestants, and his well-loved foreign Generals. He felt this as a personal insult to himself. 'It is not to be conceived,' he wrote to Galway, 'how people here are set against foreigners.'

1698.

1699. Marlborough was now consulted by the King upon all public affairs, as we learn from Sunderland's correspondence.* In William's quarrels with his Parliament, Marlborough had a difficult part to play. He was not yet strong enough to offend the Tories by openly siding with the Court, and were he to act entirely with his old party, he could not long be counted as one of William's friends. When the Lords passed a resolution that they would willingly see the services of the Dutch Guards retained, the powerful minority entered a protest. Marl-

1698. borough, though present in the House, did not vote. He was entirely opposed to sweeping reductions in the army, for he never regarded the Peace of Ryswick as more than a truce. The warlike preparations of Lewis XIV., and the additions to the French army and navy, were sufficient to convince one of Marlborough's cautious temperament of the folly of reducing the English nation to helplessness at such a time. The King was able to count on Marlborough's support when factious members of either House of Parliament went out of their way to insult him. Marlborough shared the English dislike to foreigners, and no one had been more open-mouthed in denunciation of William's partiality for Dutchmen; but his instinct of reverence for the wearer of the Crown forbade him to countenance the personal insults which many politicians now thought fit to heap upon King William.

(3,412 men). The army in Ireland was to consist of two regiments of Horse, three of Dragoons, and twenty of Foot, 11,367 men in all.

* Spencer House Papers.

We know, from a letter written by Lord Somers to the Duke of Shrewsbury, that the King, worn out by the insults he had received from the House of Commons, had resolved to announce publicly that, having come to England to rescue her from impending ruin; having succeeded, and brought the country through a dangerous war without mishap, as she was now at peace, he meant to leave her to herself. He proposed to add, that he perceived the English distrust of him, and that before quitting England he was prepared to assent to a law for the appointment of Commissioners to administer the Government. Somers did not at first believe that William was serious, but added: 'He has spoken of it to my Lord Marlborough (which one would wonder at almost as much as at ye thing itself), to Mr. Montague,' etc.* The King had already written out the speech he intended to deliver.† Lord Somers and all his Whig colleagues who had any weight with William argued most strongly against this move. The King gave way, and, in the interests of the State, suppressed his resentment, and assented to the Bill for this sweeping reduction of the army with wise, if not over-true, expressions of generous confidence in his people.

Thursday, 29, 12, 1698.

When the Bill became law, the funds immediately fell.

* This letter is in the papers of the Duke of Buccleugh.

† This is in the Duke of Buccleugh's collection, and is given in Dalrymple, vol. iii., Part III., Book VII., p. 180.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

ABIGAIL HILL BECOMES A BEDCHAMBER WOMAN TO THE PRINCESS ANNE.

Sarah tired of work as Lady-in-Waiting—Abigail Hill's birth and parentage—Anne transfers her affection to her new favourite—Sarah's insolence to the Princess—The story of the gloves.

CHAPTER LXXXII. 1698.

It was in the spring of this year that Lady Marlborough committed the great blunder of her life, the appointment of her cousin, Abigail Hill, to the position of Bedchamber Woman to the Princess Anne, which not only led to the eventual ruin of her husband, but placed the greatness and future renown of England in jeopardy.

Pecuniary considerations had in early life made Sarah only too glad to be a Lady-in-Waiting, but by inclination and temperament she was never suited for duties which were then no sinecure. So when her husband was made Governour to the young Prince, and she thereby attained a good social status, her proud spirit revolted against the further performance of any offices for her Royal mistress. She had a family and a home of her own to look after, and she longed to throw off the irksome restraint of waiting upon one whose society bored her. At the same time, she had no intention of abandoning her mastery over the Princess, and conceived the foolish idea of ruling her by deputy. She felt so secure in Anne's affection and in the exclusive control she had obtained over her thoughts and actions, that it never occurred to her as possible that

anyone, least of all the apparently humble Abigail, could supplant her.

This cousin, whom she selected as her substitute, was the daughter of a merchant who had married one of Lady Marlborough's numerous paternal aunts.* He had at one time been in a flourishing Turkish business, but unfortunate speculations had reduced him to penury. Sarah tells us that she first heard of the Hill family and their poverty about the beginning of William's reign, when she at once sent them money and relieved their most pressing necessities.† The statement that she had never before known that 'there were such people in the world' must, I think, be accepted with some reserve; but be this as it may, it is certain that when she learned that her cousins, the Hills, were in want, she gave them generous and effective help, and extant letters from Mrs. Hill prove how sincerely grateful she was to Lady Marlborough for her spontaneous assistance. The merchant and his wife died soon afterwards, leaving four children entirely unprovided for. Lady Marlborough proved herself a good kinswoman, and obtained places for them about the Court. The elder of the sons was appointed to an office in the Customs through the influence of her friend Lord Godolphin, and she induced one of her husband's relatives to give the necessary security of £2,000 for his honourable conduct in that position. The other son, who, she tells us, was in rags, she clothed, put to school, started him in life as page to the Prince of Denmark, and afterwards procured for him the post of Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester. One of the daughters was appointed laundress to the young Prince, and when he

* He was second son of William Hill, of Teddington, county Middlesex, and of Wood Street, in the City, who was one of the auditors of the revenue, by Abigail, daughter of Richard Stephens, Esq., of Estington, county Gloucester. This Abigail Stephens was aunt to Abigail, the mother of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford.

† 'The Conduct,' p. 177.

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died Sarah obtained for her a pension of £200 per annum. The eldest of the family, Abigail, was grown up at the time of her parents' death, and was employed as waiting-woman to Lady Rivers of Chafford, Kent.* Sarah removed her from this menial occupation to a position in her own nursery, and treated her with every kindness and consideration. Shortly afterwards one of the Princess Anne's bedchamber women died, and Lady Marlborough begged that her cousin Abigail might be given the vacancy, a request which was at once acceded to.

This arrangement fulfilled a double object: it secured a suitable and permanent provision for a poor relation of unprepossessing appearance, and it placed in constant attendance upon the Princess a woman who might reasonably be expected to watch over Lady Marlborough's interests. Sarah did not give her cousin credit for ambition, or, even if she had any, for ability to further it. Her red nose, ungainly appearance, vulgar manners, and apparent stolidity, were not likely, as Sarah thought, to recommend her to Anne's favourable notice. But she little knew what a cunning, intriguing nature was concealed under that demure exterior, and she rashly gave Abigail credit for the rarest of all virtues, gratitude. Sarah was still sufficiently inexperienced to expect abiding thankfulness from those she helped on in the world; but history records few instances of great favours being repaid with more hideous ingratitude than in the case of Abigail Hill. The only excuse for the base and cruel return made to one who had raised her from the position of a domestic servant, to be a person of some consequence in Anne's household is, that she was instigated by another cousin, the able and tricky Harley. This arch-intriguer had long striven by careful flattery to win Sarah's active co-operation for his political schemes, but she so disliked and distrusted him that, finding he could make no impression upon her, he determined to try Anne instead, and to

* Coxe, vol. ii., p. 257, note.

obtain access to her by means of Abigail. Until she came under his influence, Abigail had been most grateful to Lady Marlborough, and filled her part as deputy-favourite with honesty and vigilance. Everything that went on in Anne's household, what she said and did, and whom she saw, was faithfully reported to the exacting Sarah. So well did Abigail carry out this duty at first, that no suspicion of her loyalty ever occurred to Sarah, whose absences from the Princess became, in consequence, gradually longer and more frequent. Indeed, weeks sometimes passed without Sarah seeing Anne.* In all this, Sarah evinced a strange ignorance of Anne's disposition. Daily intercourse with the Princess was essential to the maintenance of her favourite's influence, and Sarah might have foreseen that Anne would soon come to lean upon the subservient woman who lived constantly in her society and who would slowly but surely acquire a mastery over Anne's dull and narrow mind. Under the promptings of Harley, Abigail saw opening before her a future of power and influence as favourite of the heiress to a failing King. How different was the use these two women-favourites made of their power! Lady Marlborough certainly used her influence to benefit some of her own family, Abigail for example; but she never forgot the State, or advised Anne to do anything contrary to its best interests. Not so Abigail, who administered Anne, if we may say so, in the interests of a small clique whose first object was office, regardless how England might be affected by the accomplishment of their ignoble aims.

Anne now began to transfer to Abigail Hill the affection which she had formerly lavished on her dear Mrs. Freeman. The 'poor unfortunate, faithful Morley,' as Anne usually styled herself after her son's death, was beginning to weary of the bondage she had so long endured. Lady Marlborough's arrogance and presumption at times knew no bounds. Though brought up at Court, and having

* Lord Ailesbury's Memoirs.

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spent all her life in the ante-chambers of royalty, she had never learned to restrain her temper or to shape her conduct as befitted a courtier. Unlovable in character as she was lovely in face, her life was one long war with the world.* She not only quarrelled with her family and friends, but even with her inferiors, and her angry correspondence with the architect Vanbrugh would fill a volume. Marlborough said to Closterman, whom she employed to paint a family group: 'It has given me more trouble to reconcile my wife and you, than to fight a battle.'† Indeed, notwithstanding the many generous deeds recorded of her, it is doubtful whether any other woman was ever so universally detested by all with whom she came in contact. She could never settle down to work with others. She must act by herself, and be absolutely independent of control. The trammels of authority made her first restive, then violent. Her obstinacy was a species of insanity, and her masculine determination aggravated her feminine faults of suspicion and jealousy.

Sarah is roundly abused by many for daring to rule Anne, but she might more reasonably be found fault with for allowing her own power to pass from her before the great object of the war had been accomplished, and, above all, for suffering it to pass to the unworthy hands of Swift's friend, Mrs. Abigail Hill.

For some years Sarah's behaviour towards the Princess had been rough and at times even insolent. She took little trouble to conceal her contempt for Anne's mental capacity, and plumed herself upon telling her the truth; but such insolence was as reprehensible as flattery would have been, and from a worldly point of view it was the extremest folly. It wrecked her husband's career, enabled a few self-seeking politicians to hinder England from reaping the fruit of his victories, and saved France from the punishment which

* 'I find it,' she wrote, 'a perpetual warr in this world to defend one's self against knaves and fools.'

† Leigh Hunt, 'The Town,' vol. ii., p. 150.

would have rendered her comparatively powerless for at least some generations. It is noteworthy, too, that Sarah's behaviour from first to last is not in consonance with her frequent protestations of the love she bore the Princess. Nevertheless, when as an old woman she reviewed her past life, she asserted most solemnly that she would always have served her mistress at any risk to herself, adding, however, as a warning to others, that were it possible for her to become again a Royal favourite, she would not avail herself of the chance.

These statements are in no way inconsistent in her case. She bullied and worried her husband, yet she loved him deeply. She was sincerely attached to Lord Godolphin, admired his good qualities and valued his friendship, yet at times she made his life a burden to him. Her arrogance and insolence towards Anne do not, therefore, prove that she was wanting in real affection for her, for truly Sarah's love was not as the love of other women; her whole character was, as it were, a freak of nature. Her mistress had long borne with her ill-concealed impertinences, but shortly after the Duke of Gloucester's death an occurrence took place which destroyed any remaining tenderness on Anne's part. There is good circumstantial evidence to attest the truth of the following account of it, though Lady Marlborough declared in after-life that she had no recollection of the circumstance. The Princess Anne, having forgotten her gloves, told Abigail to fetch them from the next room, where she remembered having left them on the table. In the next room, Abigail found Lady Marlborough seated at the table engaged in reading a letter, and wearing the gloves, which she had evidently put on by mistake. Abigail, in a submissive tone, pointed this out to her. 'Ah!' exclaimed Sarah, 'have I put on anything that has touched the odious hands of that disagreeable woman?' Then, pulling them off, she threw them on the floor, exclaiming with violence, 'Take them away!' The door was ajar between the two rooms, and

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1742. Some forty years afterwards, when writing to a friend about her recently published memoirs, she refers to this incident, and mentions that a critical correspondent brought to her notice that she had been found fault with on account of this story, for in a book written by the King of Prussia, the ruin of Europe—*i.e.*, the Treaty of Utrecht—was stated to have been the outcome of a quarrel between the Queen and herself 'about a pair of gloves.' Although she denies that it ever took place, it is evident that the story was generally believed, and it must not be forgotten that she was in her eighty-third year, and with a failing memory, when she denied its truth. Moreover, as she never knew that the Queen had overheard her, she would have no good reason to recollect what was evidently a hasty and petulant expression of the moment.* Indeed, when this story is added to the many other instances in which Sarah spoke unadvisedly with her lips, the wonder is that she was able to keep her conduct within bounds as long as she did. The restraint imposed upon her by the etiquette of Court life evidently tried her beyond endurance, and now that her husband had been taken back into favour, and that she had about Anne's person a near relative who was deeply indebted to her, and in whose fidelity she had complete confidence, she became even more than usually careless.

* Correspondence of Duchess of Marlborough in Coxe's MS. collection. See vol. vi., p. 186, of Strickland's 'Lives of the Queens of England.'

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MARRIAGE OF MARLBOROUGH'S ELDER DAUGHTERS.

Lady Henrietta Churchill marries Godolphin's eldest son—Lady Anne Churchill marries Lord Spencer—His character—Portland resigns his offices—The King ailing.

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MARLBOROUGH'S two eldest daughters had now reached the age at which, in those days, it was usual for parents to think of settling their girls in life. The eldest, Henrietta, was eighteen, and it was decided that she should marry Francis, the only son of Lord Godolphin, who was one of Marlborough's staunchest and oldest friends. The bridegroom was only twenty, and by no means rich, so it was not a brilliant match; but Marlborough's family was large, and he had a son to whom it was essential that he should leave a landed estate. He could, therefore, only afford to give each of his daughters five thousand pounds, to which the Princess Anne added a similar amount. She wished to double that sum, but Lady Marlborough would not consent to such a drain upon her mistress's purse, a fact which Sarah's detractors have ungenerously ignored.

It was said that the match was entirely one of youthful affection, and that the bride's mother had no hand in bringing it about. But the fact that she allowed her daughter to marry a stripling of twenty seems to show that the alliance at least met with her approval. The bride was fascinating as well as beautiful, and is thus described by a contemporary rhymer :* 1688-9, 1689.

* A poem called the 'Toasters.'

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'Godolphin's easy and unpractised air
Gains without art, and governs without care.
Her conqu'ring race with various fate surprise;
Who 'scape their arms, are captives to their eyes.'

Marlborough and Godolphin had been pages at Court together in early life, and the closest and warmest friendship had always subsisted between them. They were both Tories and High Churchmen, and they had acted conjointly in many a Court intrigue during the two previous reigns But at the time of the Revolution, when Marlborough preferred his religion to his master, Godolphin did not follow suit. He took no part in the conspiracy which placed William on the Throne, though later on he threw in his lot with the new order of things. A sporting, cock-fighting country gentleman, he was also the ablest Finance Minister of his day, and William fully recognised the fact. His known probity also commended him to the astute King, who trusted him in a way that he did not trust other Englishmen. He and Marlborough were equally compromised by their correspondence with James, and he had only relinquished office, as previously mentioned, when Sir John Fenwick included him amongst those whom he accused of plotting against William. He had always been a favourite with Lady Marlborough, so much so, indeed, that scandal was sometimes busy with their names, though there is not a shadow of evidence to support a charge invented by political enemies. Everything known about Sarah and Godolphin gives the lie direct to these foul aspersions. During her husband's absence abroad, she habitually sought Godolphin's advice, and it was unfortunate for herself and her husband that she did not always follow it. Her caprice and tempestuous hatreds tried her trusty friend severely, but his regard and admiration for her, and his friendship for Marlborough, never wavered on this account. This marriage bound the two friends still more closely together. Godolphin was one of Anne's most favoured friends and most faithful servants,

and upon her accession he was made Lord Treasurer by Marlborough's all-powerful influence. So close was the union between these two men that, when Marlborough's dismissal was planned by Harley and St. John, it was taken for granted that Godolphin would go with him.

Lady Anne, Marlborough's second daughter, married Charles, Lord Spencer, the Earl of Sunderland's eldest son. The closest intimacy had long subsisted between the two families, and Lady Sunderland was godmother to her future daughter-in-law. Sunderland and Marlborough had both been strongly opposed to the policy adopted by James II. In many respects their views upon public affairs coincided; but Marlborough's religious faith saved him from many of the petty shifts and expedients to which Sunderland willingly lent himself. Sunderland having, as already described, thoroughly deceived James, was forced to fly the country at the Revolution. Marlborough not only urged William to forgive him and bring him back, but to re-employ him in the Government, and when Marlborough fell into disgrace, Sunderland in his turn strove to repay these good offices by repeated efforts to procure his restoration to William's favour; indeed, he never relaxed his efforts until he succeeded in obtaining for Marlborough the position of Governour to the young Prince. The mutual esteem and regard of these two men was fully equalled by the affection that grew up between their wives, an affection so warm that it aroused at one time a deep jealousy on the part of Anne. She wished to reign alone in her favourite's affections, and could not tolerate a rival, especially one for whom she had always entertained a particular dislike. 'I cannot help envying Lady Sunderland to-day,' wrote the Princess to Sarah, 'that she should have the satisfaction of seeing you before me; for I am sure she cannot love you half so well as I do, though I know she has the art of saying a great deal.'

Lord Spencer, silent and almost morose by nature, was still mourning the loss of a young wife to whom he had

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been deeply attached.* She had only been dead a few months when his parents urged him to marry again, and recommended the young and beautiful Anne Churchill as a suitable wife. They had set their hearts upon this match. The father wrote: 'If I see him so settled I shall desire nothing more in this world but to die in peace if it please God.' Thrown much into her society during a visit the Marlboroughs made to Althorp, Spencer was soon overcome, not only by the loveliness of her face, but by the sweetness of her disposition. Marlborough did not relish the match, as neither he nor his wife had any liking for their future son-in-law, whose ungracious manners and strong republican views were distasteful to both. He was twenty-five years of age, well read, a deep thinker, and of a stern disposition and rigid principles. When offered a pension, in accordance with custom, on his dismissal from office in Anne's reign, he would have none of it, adding that, if he were not allowed to serve his Queen, he, on his part, would not consent to rob his country. No two men could be more unlike than he and his father. Lady Anne Churchill was only seventeen, small, pretty and blessed with winning manners. After her marriage her husband's party were wont to toast her as 'the little Whig.' She was her father's favourite child; he loved to look upon her child-like face, and to watch in her the early development of a genius and a judgment far beyond her years.†

The match was first suggested by Lord Godolphin at Sunderland's instigation, and was strongly urged by Mrs. Boscawen, Godolphin's sister. It was not, however, until Lady Sunderland had won over her friend Sarah that

* She was Lady Arabella Cavendish, daughter of the Duke of Newcastle.

† 'There is a brave soldier's daughter in town that by her eye has been the death of more than ever her father made fly before him.'—Addison's reference to young Lady Sunderland, *Spectator*, No. 252, vol. iv.

Marlborough's objections were overcome. His wife, being herself a strong Whig, regarded Lord Spencer's republican views with less horror than did her husband, to whom they were repugnant to the last degree. She alone could induce him to give the daughter he loved so dearly, to a man so uncongenial to him in every respect. To disarm his opposition, he was assured that his new son-in-law would shape his public conduct in accordance with Marlborough's views and wishes, and that he was sensible how advantageous it would be for him to do so.*

The party from Althorp spent their Christmas holidays with the Marlboroughs at Holywell House, St. Albans, where the final arrangements for the wedding were considered, and the matter of settlements decided upon. The wedding took place at St. Albans shortly after Christmas. Writing of it, Lord Sunderland says: 'It will certainly be turned to Politicks as everything is. If it can have any relation to them, it shall be only to pursue those measures for the present and the future which we discoursed of here.'†

Jan. 1, 1699.

About the middle of the year, the Duke of Portland, who had always been hostile to Marlborough, and anxious to prejudice the King against him, resigned all his offices at Court. He seems to have just awaked to the fact that a favourite, if he wishes to keep his place, must never quit his master or give opportunities to others to practise those courtier-like arts by which he himself had succeeded. The good-looking young page, Keppel, had lately been constantly with William, and had so insinuated himself into William's good graces that he now reigned supreme as first favourite. Portland had for so many years enjoyed the advantages and power which the position gave him, that he could not brook supercession, and resigned. Keppel had long been on friendly terms with Marlborough, and had used his influence to remove William's old prejudice against him, and to establish more cordial relations between

* Letter from Lord Sunderland.

† Letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury: Spencer House Papers.

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these two men, both so great and yet so opposite in character. Just before Portland's final resignation, Marlborough, writing from Windsor to the Duke of Shrewsbury, refers thus to the coming event:

'June 3d 99. . . . I have to much reason to take some things ill of Ld. Orford, but I have not, nor shal not, say any thing to him of itt, which I shou'd have done, if he had stay'd in, for I doe flatter my self that I have deserved better from him, however I can't forbear letting you know itt, you will judge of the rest by this one thing, which I am told he sayd with great pivishness, where he thought it might hurt me, and that was that Ld. Sunderland govern'd every thing and that I acted nothing, but as influenced by him, this is the unjuster, for he can't but know the contrary.

'When I have the happiness of seeing you, I shal let you know what has passed sence you were att Windsor, by which you will see the little incoridgement there is to medle with any thing, whielst soe much Jealousy rains. Ld. Portland leaves this place about ten days hence and as I am informed with a resolution of quitting all his employments in Holland as well as here, if any thing should happen that I think you will care to know, I shal be sure to write.'*

Everyone about the Court at this time knew that the King was ailing, and that he could not live much longer. His death might probably lead to another revolution, for James II. was still only separated from his inheritance by the narrow Channel and by his strong anti-Protestant bigotry. Ireland was only kept in subjection by the English garrison. Scotland was discontented; and the King was unpopular in England, where the Jacobite party was still numerous. It is no wonder, therefore, that men in office should have been uncertain of the future, loath to commit themselves to one side or the other, and,

* In the Duke of Buccleugh's Papers. The letter is endorsed in Shrewsbury's writing, 'ansd 7th, 1699.'

whilst serving William, that they should have been anxious to stand well with the other possible 'King over the water.' Mr. Vernon, writing in December, says:* 'If they (the Whigs) cannot do everything that the King may think a gratification to him, I believe he may depend upon it that they will keep the Government upon its proper basis, which is no small consideration; but then they must be at liberty not to meddle with things they see reason to despair of, and, as circumstances now stand, no prudent man will act but with a good deal of caution, and have some regard to his own safety, since the compensations are like to be so small for any hazards he shall run.' If this was the opinion of a singularly shrewd Minister then, it is easy to understand that six, eight, or nine years before, when the Jacobite cause looked still more promising, all the leading men, Marlborough included, should have sought to secure themselves against the contingency of William's overthrow and the restoration of James.

$\frac{12}{22}$ 12, 1699.

In October a vacancy occurred at the Board of Admiralty, and Marlborough begged hard that it might be given to his brother George. Vernon says in a letter: 'I wish he may be gratified in it, but I am afraid there are some who dislike it.' Eventually the office was given to him, and there was also a talk of making his brother Charles Governour of Hull.† So great was the advance which Marlborough had already made in Royal favour! It must not, however, be assumed from this that he made undue use of his position at any time to advance his brothers. Indeed, it may be justly said that his superlative genius so over-shadowed all his contemporaries, that his brothers suffered much in their respective careers from the comparison which the world naturally instituted between them and him. George was a good sailor, and Charles an excellent soldier; yet neither was ever given high command, or even knighted.

$\frac{3}{13}$ 10, 1699.

* This letter is addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

† Luttrell, 24, 8, 1699.

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DEATH OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER—THE PARTITION TREATIES AND THE DEATH OF THE SPANISH KING.

The Seventeenth Century closes in peace—Charles XII. of Sweden and Peter the Great—Marlborough strives to gain William's goodwill—Anne very grateful to him for obtaining from Parliament Prince George's claim for £85,000.—William's gift of forfeited lands in Ireland to his Dutch favourites—Marlborough made a Lord Justice when the King goes to Holland—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—Charles II. of Spain dies, and Duke of Anjou is proclaimed his successor—Lewis XIV. seizes the frontier fortresses of Holland.

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At the close of the seventeenth century, Europe was in a state of profound peace. But the gates of the Temple of Janus were not to remain long shut. The peace was merely a lull between the war just ended and the great storm which was soon to burst and disturb the civilized world for nearly fourteen years.

Two of the world's most remarkable soldier-princes, rivals in military glory, now appeared upon the stage of European politics: the danger-loving, heroic Charles of Sweden, and the far-seeing, despotic reformer, Peter of Russia, justly termed 'the Great.' The able and eccentric successor of Gustavus Adolphus was a man of ascetic and religious nature. He was in his eighteenth year when he appeared like a fiery meteor in his own Northern latitudes, leaving behind him in his course across Europe a lurid track of dazzling but profitless military splendour. The combination against which he was now compelled to

take the field consisted of the King of Denmark, Augustus of Saxony, the elected King of Poland, and Peter the Great, just returned from the dockyards of Deptford. Each of these potentates sought for an increase of territory at some neighbour's expense. Denmark then, as now, coveted the Province of Holstein, whose reigning Duke was brother-in-law and a close ally of Charles XII. Russia, pent up within her periodically frozen seaboard, wanted Lithuania and, above all things, a port in the Baltic. In fact, the members of the Alliance wished to seize upon and divide amongst themselves all the provinces lying between the Gulf of Finland, the Baltic Sea, Poland and Russia.

William III. at once perceived the danger to which any quarrel between the two Protestant Powers of the North would expose his long-cherished plans. In vain he strove to arrange terms of agreement between the belligerents. The Powers allied with Denmark would listen to no proposals, believing their game to be a safe one, and having no doubt of their ability to crush with ease their opponent, the unknown boy-King of Sweden. Determined to save him if possible, William despatched a combined English and Dutch fleet to the Baltic, where it united with that of Sweden in the month of May. The Danish navy, unable to hold its own against this combination, was compelled to seek safety in Copenhagen, then threatened by a Swedish army under Charles; and the King of Denmark was glad to save his capital by concluding a peace with this young 'Madman of the North,' who thus brought his first campaign to a brilliant conclusion in less than six weeks. Towards the close of the year, with only a handful of troops, he defeated the Russians at the remarkable battle of Narva. These successes added greatly $\frac{11}{30}$ 11, 1700. to the power and influence of Sweden in the North of Europe; so much so, that when Marlborough was negotiating the second 'Grand Alliance' in the following year, it became a matter of consequence that he should secure the goodwill of Charles XII.

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All through the years 1698, 1699, and 1700, Marlborough had striven to win William's favour, to obliterate the remembrance of past grievances, and to remove all causes of complaint against him. But it was not easy to convert the King's rooted prejudice into partiality, or even goodwill, towards him. Unfortunately for Marlborough, several subjects were discussed in Parliament at this time for which he could not conscientiously vote, although he knew that the King wished him to do so. In heart, like most of his best friends, he was still a Tory, and he generally voted with that party; but his position was a difficult one, for if he voted to please William, he displeased his Tory friends, who were much opposed to the Court measures. Amongst other things for which he incurred the King's displeasure, was his advocacy of Prince George's claim to the sum of £85,000 which William had guaranteed during the war between Denmark and Sweden in 1689. The question afforded the Tories an opportunity of subjecting the King's foreign policy to hostile criticism, and though the money
½ 12, 1699. was at last grudgingly voted, it was rather as a favour to the Princess Anne than in compliance with the King's wishes. William was displeased with the Prince for pressing a matter which exposed him to much personal mortification, and knowing the influence exercised over Anne and her husband by the Marlboroughs, he naturally regarded them as more or less responsible for having afforded his enemies this opportunity for annoying him. That Marlborough should have moved in this affair at a time when he was particularly anxious to propitiate William and win his favour, was a strong proof of his loyalty to Anne. It showed his determination to support her interests at whatever risk to his own prospects, a fact in striking contrast with the character usually attributed to him by historians. He studiously kept aloof from the acrimonious debates to which this affair gave rise, and strove to conceal the interest which he took in it. But whilst anxious to convey an impression of indifference in public, he

privately did all in his power to influence the decision in Prince George's favour, and there can be no doubt that it was principally owing to his able and zealous management that the debt in question was eventually discharged by Parliament. Princess Anne was most grateful to him for his successful advocacy, and expressed her sense of obligation in the following letter to his wife:

'I was going to thank your lord myself for what was done last night concerning the Prince's business, it being wholly owing to your and his kindness, or else I am sure it would never have been brought to any effect. But I durst not do it for fear of not being able to express the true sense of my poor heart, and therefore I must desire my dear Mrs. Freeman to say a great deal both for Mr. Morley and myself: and though we are poor in words, yet be so just as to believe we are truly sensible, and most faithfully yours. And as for your faithful Morley, be assured she is more, if it be possible, than ever her dear, dear Mrs. Freeman's.' *

The temporary estrangement between Marlborough and the King did not last long, for Vernon writes: 'I think the cloud which has been hanging over my Lord Marlborough is clearing up.' Before he had quite re-established himself in favour, there arose between William and the House of Commons another and more serious dispute. The King had made great presents of forfeited lands in Ireland to his Dutch favourites, Portland, Albemarle, Athlone, Galway and Rochford, and also to his English mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, lately created Countess of Orkney. It was urged by the Court party that William had given these lands to Ginkel and De Rouvigny in recognition of the good military service they had rendered in Ireland. But this was an injudicious argument, as not an acre had been bestowed upon Marlborough, who had done equally good work there, or upon any other English officer, whilst the bulk had been

January, 1700.

* 'The Conduct,' p. 287.

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given to Bentinck, Keppel and Zulestein, none of whom had taken any part in the Irish wars. William laid himself still more open to complaint in this matter, by a promise, which he was said to have given before he started for Ireland, that he would not give away these lands until Parliament had considered the matter. The non-fulfilment of this assurance, added to the emptiness of the Exchequer, incensed members against William and his Dutch friends. There was no money forthcoming to pay off the soldiers, and consequently the army could not be reduced in accordance with the decision of Parliament. Mr. Harley proposed to sell the forfeited estates in order to provide the amount required, and this gave the Tories another opportunity of slighting the King. The Commons passed a Bill to resume the grants, sell the land, and appropriate the money to pay off the regiments to be reduced, and to the discharge of other public debts. To preclude all tampering with this Bill in the House of Lords, it was unconstitutionally 'tacked' to a Bill of Supply, which led to angry altercations between the two Houses. Marlborough, anxious to recover the King's favour, strove to remain neutral in these disputes. In his heart, he was opposed to the Irish grants, although the pension of his sister Arabella, now Mrs. Godfrey, was dependent upon their validity.* He attended the House of Lords when the Bill was brought there from the Commons, and opposed the Court party's amendments, but withdrew before the question was finally put.† Neither House would give way, and a serious breach was only prevented by the moderation and self-sacrifice of the King. He nobly preferred to accept the insult, and to see his grants rescinded, rather than incur the consequences which a deadlock between the Lords and Commons might entail at such a time. He

* William had settled £1,000 per annum upon her as a charge upon the Irish confiscated lands which James II. had reserved for himself.

† Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 9 and 13, 1700. Letters edited by G. P. R. James.

caused it to be generally known amongst his Parliamentary friends that he wished the House of Lords to pass the Bill without amendment, and in accordance with this wish Marlborough and others who had hung back voted against the proposed amendments, and the Bill was allowed to pass. But notwithstanding his evident desire to please the King by helping him to pass his measures in Parliament as far as he could conscientiously do so, his re-employment in any high position seemed for the moment as far off as ever. Writing to his friend the Duke of Shrewsbury in May, he says: 'The King's coldness to me still continues, so that I should have been glad to have had your friendly advice: for to have friends and acquaintances unreasonably jealous, and the King at the same time angry, is what I know not how to bear, nor do I know how to behave myself.'* $\frac{11}{22}$ 5, 1700.

However, when William left England in June, he appointed Marlborough one of the Lords Justices during his absence. Shortly after the King's arrival in Holland, he received tidings of the death, at the age of eleven, of the sickly Duke of Gloucester, an event of grave import to the nation, and a sad blow to the Marlboroughs. The Prince and Princess were in despair, for child after child was born to them, but only to intensify by early death the poignancy of their sorrow. Vernon writes, they 'see nobody but their own servants; they are carried in chairs in the evenings to my Lord Godolphin's garden.'† All England mourned the loss of this young Prince, as it did in the following century that of a Princess who, like this boy, was at the time the hope of the nation. Worn out with watching and anxiety, Marlborough was now struck down himself with fever, and was made worse by being bled, then the universal remedy for all maladies. $\frac{27}{7}$-$\frac{9}{7}$, 1700. $\frac{30}{6}$-$\frac{7}{5}$, 1700.

In the following letter to Marlborough, William gives expression to his grief for the loss which he felt the nation had sustained. Its wording indicates a change of feeling

* Shrewsbury Papers. † Vernon to Shrewsbury, $\frac{3}{13}$ 8, 1700.

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towards the great soldier, whose services he now began to feel were necessary to the State, since failing health warned him that he could no longer take the field himself:

'A Loo 4e d'Aougt, 1700.—Je ne croi pas qu'il est besoin que je me serve de beaucoup de paroles pour vous dire avec quelle surprise et douleur j'ay apris la mort du Duc de Glocester. S'est une si grande perte pour moy et pour toute l'Angletere que j'ay le cœur percé d'affliction. Je vous assure qu'en cette occasion et en toute autre je serés très aise de vous donner des marques de mon amitié.—WILLIAM R.'*

The Electress Dowager of Hanover† was now to become a personage of importance in England, and to her the Whigs turned as Anne's successor, for her elder brothers and sisters, being Roman Catholics, were ineligible. She had numerous interviews with William this year in Holland, and was generally supposed to have arranged matters with him regarding her eventual succession as Queen of England.

A question of the utmost moment to the peace of Europe and to the future welfare of millions now arose to occupy the attention of statesmen. What was to become of the widely-extending dominions of Spain upon the death of the childless and almost imbecile King, Charles II., whose death might be looked for at any moment?‡ Both the Emperor and Lewis XIV. claimed the succession as heir-at-law to this last direct male descendant of Charles V. After lengthy negotiations, a compromise was arrived at in August, 1699, and an arrangement known as the 'First Partition Treaty,' according to which the Prince of Bavaria was recognised as heir to the Spanish Crown, was agreed to by all the States concerned. Had Charles II. died first, it is probable that Lewis XIV. would have stood by

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

† She was daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, who was daughter of James I.

‡ He succeeded his father, Philip IV., in 1666.

the treaty; but the Prince of Bavaria dying within a few months of its ratification, a new treaty, known as the 'Second Partition Treaty,' was concluded very secretly between England, France, and Holland.

When the terms became known of this second treaty, which settled the succession to the Spanish Crown upon the Emperor's second son, the Archduke Charles, all Spain as one man denounced them.

The Spanish King died in November, but shortly before his death he was induced by the priests and others in the French interests to bequeath his vast dominions to the Duke of Anjou, the Dauphin's second son, the Spanish grandees hoping thereby to save their extensive empire from dismemberment, as they naturally expected that Lewis XIV. would do all in his power to protect the integrity of a kingdom ruled by his own grandson. $\frac{22}{1}$-$\frac{10}{11}$, 1700.

As soon as the terms of this will were made known to Lewis he held a Cabinet Council, at which it was decided that the Duke of Anjou should accept the Spanish Crown. The French King had evidently some misgivings—not of conscience—about the affair; so much so that he allowed five days to elapse before he had his grandson proclaimed King of Spain. When Philip started for Madrid, Lewis, in parting with him, exclaimed, 'Désormais, il n'y a plus de Pyrénées.' Subsequent events, however, have not fulfilled this grandiloquent French prophecy.

On hearing this news William was furious. He had been duped, and his impulse was to declare war, but he had no army, and he could not raise one without the approval of the English Parliament. To him the Spanish Crown in possession of a Bourbon prince meant the supremacy of Lewis in Europe, and that, he felt, would entail the downfall of Holland as an independent Power, and if not the complete destruction of Protestantism, at least a heavy blow to European freedom. The Tories—always hostile to William—proved too strong for him at this juncture. They disliked him on party grounds, and distrusted his foreign

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policy as the cause of his wars; they consequently wished him to acquiesce in the provisions of the Spanish King's will, for what mattered it to them who ruled at the Escurial? War meant lavish outlay abroad, a hateful standing army, and largely increased taxation and national debt.

There was one point, however, in European politics upon which all England felt strongly, namely, the independence of Holland; for stupid as the people were upon most questions of foreign policy, they realized the danger they would incur if the Dutch ports and the maritime power of Holland fell into the possession of the French. It was well known that Lewis XIV. coveted the United Provinces, and England, which had already expended much blood and treasure in thwarting his designs, was prepared to defend their integrity.

The provinces of Brabant and Flanders, commonly known as the Spanish Netherlands, were old possessions of Spain, and as long as they were occupied by Spanish troops their fortresses constituted an effective barrier both for Holland and the Empire against French aggression. They had, however, become so heavy a drain upon the finances of Spain that it was proposed at the Peace of

1697.

Ryswick to exchange them for French territory on the Pyrenean frontier. This proposal alarmed the Dutch, for it virtually meant the transfer of those provinces to Lewis XIV., who would surely make them a stepping-stone to the eventual conquest of Holland, and sooner than incur this risk, they agreed to furnish and pay twenty-two battalions of their own troops to garrison these "Barrier Fortresses" under the Crown of Spain.

The transfer of the Spanish Crown to his grandson afforded the French King a plausible excuse for the occupation of these strong places. As they belonged to Spain, of which a Bourbon prince was now the Sovereign, it was, he argued, natural and right that they should be garrisoned by French rather than by Dutch soldiers. The Spanish

Governour, the Duke of Bavaria, who had been won over to French interests, had promised to surrender these fortresses to the French troops.

Lewis, accordingly, upon the death of Charles II., marched a French army into Spanish Flanders, and in the name of the King of Spain took possession, during one night, of Oudenarde, Ath, Ostend, Nieuport, Mons, Luxembourg, Charleroi and Namur, capturing the twenty-two Dutch battalions which garrisoned them. He refused to release these troops unless the States General acknowledged his grandson as Philip V., King of Spain, and Holland was compelled, much against her will, to accept these terms in order to recover what then constituted the bulk of her national army.

Upon this occasion Lewis did not display his customary forethought. Having resolved to accept the terms of the Spanish King's will, of which he was aware, he should have had an army waiting in French Flanders, not only to take possession of the frontier fortresses immediately upon the King's death, but ready also to march into Holland and occupy its provinces. On no account and on no terms should he have released, as he did, those twenty-two battalions, but should have detained them as prisoners of war until all danger of hostilities was at an end. When he released them, William at once mobilized them for war, and they became the nucleus of the Dutch contingent of that Allied army which Marlborough so often led to victory.

Popular feeling in favour of Holland was aroused in England and throughout Europe by this sudden aggression of the French King. Even the most peace-loving Tory felt uneasy at the threatened attack upon Protestant Holland. Were Lewis allowed to remain in occupation of her frontier fortresses, her final absorption by France would be a mere question of time. Holland was doomed if her Allies now deserted her, and it was fortunate for her that Orange William and not Catholic

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James occupied the Throne of England. The latter would have gladly left Holland to the mercy of Lewis XIV., whilst her welfare and independence was the first consideration with William. The support of the Emperor further strengthened the party in England, which now called loudly for war with France.

William's policy was to gain time in order to arrange matters with his Tory House of Commons and obtain from it troops and money for the war which he saw to be inevitable. The States-General at his instigation demanded from France the restitution of Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, Ruremonde, Mons, Venloo, and other strong frontier places. This delayed matters, and enabled William to complete his preparations by land and sea. Meanwhile, the Lower House had been doing its utmost to insult and irritate the King, and William finally dis-

$\frac{12}{22}$ 12, 1700.

solved Parliament in December. He summoned another for the following February, and resolved to get rid of those Whigs who had shown themselves as unable to shield him from insult as they were incapable of carrying on the Government. The outrageous behaviour of members during the recent session had tended to bring the House of Commons into contempt, and had generally discredited it in public estimation. Discontent was general; the Triennial Act kept the country in a constant state of political ferment, whilst William's personal unpopularity told against the party that had placed him on the Throne. He was painfully aware of this, and felt that his power and influence in England were on the wane.

The harvests for several years in succession had been bad; trade was depressed, and every interest affected.* The Church, filled with resentment at the Toleration Act, once more found it convenient to remember that James was the Lord's anointed. Scotland resented the abandon-

* Lecky's 'England in the Eighteenth Century.' The price of the threepenny loaf rose to ninepence, and in the previous year there had been some serious bread riots.

ment of the Darien colonists. The landed gentry and the merchants were all grumbling at the pressure of taxation which William's war policy necessitated. The Court was dull, and unlike anything to which the English aristocracy had been previously accustomed. With a new House of Commons, William thought a change of Ministers advisable. Lord Chancellor Somers had been dismissed in April, and Sir Nathan Wright appointed in his place. Lawrence, Earl of Rochester was now made Prime Minister, and, for the sake of the emoluments of the office, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland also.

$\frac{17}{25}$ 4, 1700.

$\frac{13}{23}$ 12, 1700.

Marlborough endeavoured to obtain for his friend Godolphin the post of Lord Privy Seal, but the King destined him for the less exalted but more important position of First Lord of the Treasury, where his financial ability found useful scope.*

$\frac{9}{20}$ 12, 1700.

Under these conditions began that great and eventful war in which, for the space of ten years, Marlborough raised England to the highest summit of national glory, and humbled to the dust both France and her arrogant ruler.

* Letter from Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, $\frac{30}{50}$ 7, 1700: Spencer House Papers.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

MR. ROBERT HARLEY.

Harley made Speaker—His gratitude to and admiration of Marlborough—His birth and character.

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10, 2, 170$\frac{9}{1}$.

WILLIAM'S new Parliament met in February, after an electioneering struggle of more than usual bitterness between the Whig and Tory factions. There was a Tory majority, but the Duke of Gloucester's death had awakened the apprehension of the nation with regard to the Protestant succession, and the irreconcilable Jacobites were in consequence less numerous than they had been in the previous House of Commons.

The rival parties in the House of Commons at once joined issue over the election of a Speaker, and the discussion ended in the nomination of the Tory candidate, Mr. R. Harley. This false friend and unscrupulous politician, who was distantly connected with the Jennings family, had early become known to the Marlboroughs, and had lived with them for years on terms of close intimacy. There is little doubt that Marlborough's influence with the Tories was used in favour of Harley's candidature for the Speakership; and that Harley owed much of his subsequent success in public life to kindly help from the same quarter is evident from the tone of his early letters to the Marlboroughs, which are full of expressions of profound gratitude, such as a *protégé* might address to his patron. Yet no man exercised a more baneful influence over Marlborough's

fate. No burning love of country inspired Mr. Harley's policy, and his aims, like those of his great literary supporter, Swift, were purely personal. Wanting in principle, but reserved and solemn in manner, he had none of the earnestness, faith, honesty or unselfishness of the true patriot. He was above all things a party politician, but lacked even the conventional party loyalty usually displayed by the more upright and respectable of that trade. He belonged to no party, had no principles, and was Whig or Tory as best suited what he thought to be his own interests. As he said in a letter to Godolphin in 1706, 'I have no inclination to any party: I have no obligation to any party: I have no antipathy to any party.' Like Swift, he began political life in the Whig camp, and he joined the Tory party because the Whigs would not promote him to high office. To further his own aims he would accept the alliance of men whom he had but lately denounced as criminals, or would sacrifice the friend who had helped him to power. The superlative treachery of this Parliamentary 'trickster,' and his unrivalled insincerity and duplicity, must always be a by-word amongst us.*

At the time of Lord Blandford's death Harley wrote to Marlborough: 'Be pleased to consider that the nation are your children, the publick needs all your care, how little soever it may deserve it;'† and the rest of the letter is couched in terms of fulsome flattery. Even when plotting to undermine Marlborough's influence with the Whigs, he assured the Duchess of his imperishable admiration for her great husband. When he congratulated her upon 'the advantage the public receives from this great and glorious victory of Schellenberg,' he says that he had an especial cause for joy, because of 'the hand that wrought it'; 'when the Duke of Marlborough is the author, when our deliverance, I may call it, is owing to his courage and his conduct,' 'I cannot but receive an additional pleasure, that

* He was commonly called 'the Trickster' by the Whigs.

† 'The Conduct,' p. 172.

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it is done by my lord Duke.'* In his letter to the Duke after the victory at Ramillies, he said every good Englishman cannot 'but be sensibly touched with the danger all were in by the hazard your grace exposed your own person to; that deliverance enhances the value of the victory, considering how dear it had like to have cost us: heaven itself hath preserved that precious life, and would not suffer us to lose your grace, who was born for the delivery of your own country, and the rescue of so many others from tyranny and oppression. Your grace does not only triumph over the publick enemies, by teaching us how to conquer abroad, but you deliver us from ourselves, and rescue us from that tyranny which each party here would exercise upon one another: you have again disarmed malice, and though your glorious actions will increase envy, yet the lustre of what you have done will deliver it, and consequently render it impotent.'† In the same year he said in a note to the Duchess: 'I have been so often provoked to see so much publick and private ingratitude exercised towards the Duke.' And the following year he wrote: 'I beg leave to assure you that I serve you by inclination and principle, and a very little time will make that manifest as well as that I have no views or aims of my own.'‡

One of the most generous traits in Marlborough's character was his reluctance to believe evil of those whom he called his friends. He was strangely unsuspicious of men whom, like Harley, he had helped into positions which they subsequently used as vantage grounds when they thought it in their interest to do him injury. It was long before he could bring himself to believe in Harley's villainy, though Sarah, with that feminine instinct always keener and more discerning than a man's reasoning power, suspected and distrusted him from the first. She was strongly opposed to his being given office by Marlborough and Godolphin early in Anne's reign. This is one of the many proofs of Sarah's natural sagacity, and of her in-

* 'The Conduct,' p. 192. † *Ibid.*, p. 193. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

tuitive power to read the hearts of men and judge their real character and disposition. She was fond of flattery and servile attentions; but though Harley left no means untried in his endeavours to ingratiate himself with her, he failed utterly. It was not until the latter half of Anne's reign that he fully realized the futility of his efforts and became for life an open and bitter foe to her and her husband.

Harley's fellow-conspirator, the dissolute Bolingbroke, described him as 'a man of whom nature meant to make a spy, or at most a captain of miners: and whom fortune, in one of her whimsical moods, made a General.'* Sluggish in thought and taciturn in manner, he was one of those who acquire a reputation for wisdom by looking wise in silence. The son of a staunch Presbyterian, he was brought up as a Nonconformist and a Whig, and when he became a Tory and joined the Church party, he never entirely lost touch with the Dissenters, or ceased to cultivate their goodwill. In this way he managed to retain their support throughout his career. Having joined those who were opposed to the Court on every point, he was thrown into the society of the County or Tory party, who hated the Revolution principles as opposed to God's ordinances. This explains how it was that a Dissenter, the son of a Cromwellian Puritan, came to side with Tories and High Churchmen, with whom he had no affinity beyond a common enmity to a Whig Court which would give him nothing. He was generally regarded as a moral man, for he neither gambled nor frequented the cockpit or the racecourse as did most of his contemporaries, though like them he indulged in the bottle. As a statesman he was contemptible; but no public man of his time could rival him in knowledge of the rules and customs of the House of Commons, and though indolent, he was unequalled as a Parliamentary tactician. Dull, tedious and hesitating in his public utterances, even his great panegyrist complains

* Letter from Bolingbroke to Swift, of March 17, 1719, N.S.

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of his irresolute character and unbusinesslike habits. Having by successful intrigues destroyed the reputation of the greatest man of the time, he was in his turn disgraced through the scheming of his own colleague, Bolingbroke, and his life ended in complete failure. Queen Anne alleged, as the reason for his dismissal from office in 1714, that 'he neglected all business: was seldom to be understood, and that when he did explain himself, she could not depend upon the truth of what he said: that he never came to her at the time she appointed, and that he often came drunk.' And this was the creature who had but a few years before persuaded the weak and foolish Queen to dismiss from her service the only really great man in it; the one man who made her reign famous, and who by the brilliancy of his renown contrived to surround her commonplace person with an imperishable aureole of light.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

The Marlboroughs induce Anne to accept it—Jacobite correspondence intercepted—Acquittal of the Whig Peers who advised the Partition Treaties—William's health failing—The House of Commons against a war with France The Dutch claim England's protection against France—Eventually the Tories, out of deference to public opinion, favour the war with France, and vote liberal supplies.

SINCE 1696 Jacobite intrigue had been in a languishing condition. James, more scrupulous than ever in the performance of his religious duties, became at the same time more obstinate in the assertion of his hereditary rights, and when Lewis would have persuaded him to renounce his claim to the English Throne in favour of his son, he declined emphatically to entertain the proposal.

If we are to believe the Jacobite agents of the time, Marlborough was again approached this year, and again declared his wish to further the restoration of James.* In the letters of the Jacobite agents, he is referred to under the feigned names of Gourny, Armsworth, and 'The Lawyer.' But now that he was reinstated in Royal favour, he was not likely to do more for James than when he was still smarting under disgrace and imprisonment. William was in very bad health, and his death would be followed by the accession of Anne, an event which would be most advantageous to the Marlboroughs. If it were necessary to demonstrate still more conclusively the utter hollowness

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 588.

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of Marlborough's protestations to James, it could not be done more effectually than by referring to the correspondence of the time, in which James's agents dwell upon Marlborough's fidelity to their hopeless cause. For the immediate prospect of Anne's accession rendered unnecessary on his part any further profession of loyalty to her father. The Tories would accept her as a Stewart, and there would be no difficulty in retaining her upon the Throne to which she would naturally succeed in lieu of her father and brother, both disqualified by their religion.

The Tories had a majority in Parliament, and the Whigs were divided, for William's unpopularity had gone far towards disintegrating that strong national party to which he owed his Throne. It was no longer the determined and progressive party which it had been in 1688, and whilst the remembrance of James's misdeeds had in a great measure passed from the minds of the people, the popular enthusiasm in favour of the principles of the Revolution had also disappeared.

Anne was not averse from becoming Queen to the temporary exclusion of her father and half-brother, for the Crown had many attractions for her, in the contemplation of which she forgot, or at least ignored, her father's rights. Nevertheless, her dull mind was distracted by the conflicting claims of her religion, her father, and her country, and for a brief space she hesitated. But the love of personal aggrandisement finally triumphed, and she decided to make a compromise with her conscience by accepting the Throne for her lifetime, and by naming her father or his son to succeed her. When she asked her father to sanction some such arrangement, he replied by cursing her if she ever presumed to wear the Crown during his life or that of her brother.

Upon this question of succession, and up to the time of the final settlement of the Crown upon the House of Hanover, Lady Marlborough and her husband were the constant advisers of the Princess Anne, who took no step

without their approval. They naturally wished her to be Queen, and exerted their influence to induce her to accept the Throne on King William's terms with regard to the Hanoverian succession.

The new Parliament found itself called upon to face the question of the Succession to the Crown, and the further question of a war with France in defence of Holland. In the speech with which William opened the session, he dwelt upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester, and the consequent necessity of providing for the succession in the Protestant line at his own death, and in the event of the Princess Anne dying without issue. He found the Tories too strong to allow of his carrying out his wishes without Anne's assistance. Sarah had never forgiven William for his treatment of her husband, and in revenge used her influence with the Princess to deprive him of the support he looked for from her. But the threat that he would make over the succession to the Pretender if this line of conduct were persisted in soon induced a change, for Sarah knew that, were the Pretender to succeed to the Throne, her plans would be frustrated. The result was the passing of the Act of Settlement, which provided that after the demise of the King and of the Princess the Crown should pass to Sophia, Dowager Duchess of Hanover, and her heirs—being Protestants—for ever.

Oct. 19 / Nov. 2, 1701.

Dec. 1½ 6, 1701.

William now laid before Parliament his views upon the European situation, showing how the 'balance of power'—an old expression which now came into common use—had been affected by the accession of a Bourbon prince to the throne of Spain. He dwelt upon the necessity of maintaining that 'balance of power,' and enlarged upon the danger to which the peace and liberty of Europe would be exposed were France allowed to absorb Holland as well as the Netherlands. He pointed out that the future of European freedom, progress, and civilization would greatly depend upon the way in which they treated this question. William had already, in February, com-

Jan. 17/28 2, 1701.

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municated to Parliament the contents of an intercepted letter from Lord Melfort to his brother the Duke of Perth, describing the great preparations for war which were being carried on in France, and adding that the chief hope for the restoration of James lay not only in the defenceless and unprepared state of England, but also in the delay which the long and useless discussions in Parliament would entail. The contents of this letter had a great effect upon public opinion, for, though easily misled by self-seeking politicians in times of national tranquillity, the English people are apt to become suspicious of wire-pullers when rumours of war are in the air.

The Tory party would not yet recognise the danger of which their astute soldier-King warned them. Many amongst them ardently desired the return of James, and did not therefore wish to engage in war with Lewis XIV., by whose assistance the restoration of James could alone be effected. To prevent, therefore, all serious consideration of the danger which threatened Holland and the Protestant cause, the Tory party resolved to impeach Portland and several other Whig members of the late Ministry for the part they had taken in the last 'Partition Treaty.' This move was not only unpatriotic, but prejudicial to their own interests, suspected as they were of seeking to bring about the restoration of a Roman Catholic King. When popular excitement about the impeachment was at its highest, Portland obtained the King's permission to explain to the House of Lords the part he had taken in the making of the treaty. He said that he was only one of seven Ministers who were concerned in the business, Marlborough being one of them, a declaration which led to explanations from those he had named as to the share each had had in the transaction. They said that Lord Jersey called them together in the King's name and read the treaty to them. On objections being raised to some of its clauses, they were told—apparently by Lord Portland—that the King had done his best, and could

obtain no better terms; upon which one of the Ministers replied that, if nothing could be altered, why bring them together?

The party nature of this impeachment was clearly shown by the fact that there was no intention of proceeding against Marlborough and the other Tory Lords concerned. In the end, the accused Whig peers were honourably acquitted, a result which raised a storm of indignation amongst the Tories in the House of Commons, the Tory peers joining in the cry. Protests, in which Marlborough joined, were recorded in the Upper House, condemning the accused members in terms of such violence that they were subsequently expunged from the journals. This is perhaps the only instance in which Marlborough, still a Tory at heart, allowed his party feelings to overmaster his habitual moderation, love of justice, and sense of what was for the true interest of England and the Protestant faith. He was fully aware that William had designed the 'Treaty of Partition' to save Europe from the war which threatened to follow the death of the Spanish King, and that it promised a peaceful settlement of the many claims that would be raised when that childless and heirless monarch should pass away. Marlborough was, moreover, fully impressed with the necessity for curbing the ambition of the French King, by providing definitively for the protection and independence of Holland. It was no mere error of judgment, as some suppose, for Marlborough was too wise and too far-seeing to make any such mistake. All that can be said in his defence is, that for the moment he suffered the baleful spirit of party, the ignoble allegiance which political supporters yield to their leaders, to outweigh his sense of what he knew in his heart to be best for the interests of his country. His conduct is the more inexplicable, because, although he hated and despised Portland, several of the other accused Whig peers were his personal friends, and, further, because he was at the time anxious to stand well with William,

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from whom he was daily hoping to obtain high military command.

William now began to feel that his health was seriously failing. Harassed by the unpatriotic conduct of the House of Commons—many of whose members he knew to be in the pay of the French King—he began almost to despair of his adopted country. The universal dominion for which Lewis had striven all his life seemed near its accomplishment. The Dutch, in self-defence, had been compelled to acknowledge the Bourbon Prince Philip as King of Spain. The military and naval resources of France and Spain were to all appearances permanently at Lewis's command. But frail as William's body might be, a fiery, unconquerable spirit yet burned within him. He had never desponded in the darkest days of Holland's history, when he was but a young and inexperienced Stadtholder; and he would not do so now that he was King of England, commanding the resources of both countries, skilled in the expedients of statecraft, and ripe in his knowledge of men. To increase the bitterness of his cup, these Tories, whom he had so lately favoured and trusted, compelled him to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou as Philip V. of Spain. 'With great joy we avail ourselves of this opportunity,' William said to him in a letter, 'not only to congratulate your Majesty upon your happy accession to the Spanish throne, but also to mark especially the esteem in which we hold Your Majesty.' Well may the French chronicler have added as a note to this letter: 'Quelle joie que celle de Guillaume!'

$\frac{31}{11}$-$\frac{3}{4}$, $170\frac{0}{1}$.

On the last day of March William informed Parliament of the straits to which Holland was reduced, and of the fact that her existence as an independent State was threatened by France, adding that the Dutch were pressing for the twenty ships of war and the 10,000 troops with which England was bound to help them under the treaty of March 3, 1677. The Commons returned a cold and studied answer, to the effect that they hoped the King would act in concert with Holland, and that he might rest assured

they would give effect to their treaty obligations. This was meant as an intimation that they would not countenance his entering into any general European confederacy to resist France. A large party still felt that our interests in Holland were too indirect to warrant our embarking in a land war on her behalf. So much so, that about this time, 'Damn the Dutch!' became a common saying.*

The House of Lords, with a keener appreciation of the position and with more public spirit, counselled the formation of an offensive and defensive league with the Emperor and the other Sovereigns who were in favour of a complete separation between the French and Spanish Crowns. But William, the astute and experienced statesman, knew that it was only by a renewal of the 'Grand Alliance' France could be prevented from dominating Europe. But he had to do with a body of narrow-minded and jealous politicians, who, though not at heart unpatriotic, were incapable, from a habitual attention to matters of exclusively party and local interest, of grasping the full importance of those external affairs which carried with them weal or woe, not only to England, but to the cause of liberty and civilization. Throughout his reign William had chafed under the obligation imposed upon him by the Constitution, of submitting, in all matters of Foreign Policy, to the churchwarden-like views of his short-sighted Ministers, or, as they would have put it, to 'the will of the people.' But his phlegmatic Dutch temperament served him well and enabled him to wait with patience. 'It is,' he wrote to the Grand Pensionary, 'the utmost mortification to me in this important affair, that I cannot act with the vigour which is requisite, and set a good example; but the Republic must do it, and I will engage people here by a prudent conduct by degrees, and without their perceiving it. If I followed my own inclination and opinion, I should have sent to all coasts, to incite them to vigour; but it is not becoming, as I cannot set

* Defoe.

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a good example, and I fear doing more harm than good; not being able to play any other game with these people, than engaging them imperceptibly.'* This quotation describes in his own words the prudent but staying policy which he had long deliberately followed in his dealings with Parliament. Since his day Ministers have, upon more than one notable occasion, allowed themselves to drift into war either from incapacity or irresolution. William, however, had fully made up his mind as to what was the only true foreign policy for England, and deliberately allowed his people to 'drift' into war, 'engaging them imperceptibly,' and 'without their perceiving it.' Such was the only course by which he could save civil and religious liberty both in England and in Europe from the crushing power of Lewis XIV.

Early in May the King informed Parliament that Lewis XIV. had made overtures to the States General with a view to tempt them to enter into independent negotiations, but that the proposal had been rejected 'because they (the Dutch) deemed the interests of Holland and England to be inseparable.' The Dutch now pressed upon William, and he in his turn on Parliament, that Lewis 'had placed French garrisons in all the Spanish cities in the Netherlands,' and had collected armies with great siege-trains upon the frontier of Holland. 'A peace,' they added, 'in such circumstances, was worse to them than a state of war.' In a word, they declared their position to be so desperate that they had at last broken down their dykes and submerged the country. They could now look only to the sea and to England to protect their liberties and religion.

Before the session closed the Tories had made their cause unpopular. Their personal abuse of the King in the House of Commons, their violent opposition to the measures he had at heart for the defence of European liberty, and their open obstruction to the progress of public business, laid

* Hardwick Collections, vol. ii., p. 394.

them open to an accusation of promoting the Jacobite and Roman Catholic interests, and of furthering the ambitions of Lewis XIV. Some of the opposition shown by the House of Commons to William's policy and proposals had doubtless its origin in bribes cleverly administered by the French Ambassador. Lewis was seeking to engage William at home in quarrels with his Parliament, so that he should be powerless abroad to hinder the realization of French aspirations. It was notorious that French gold had lately been freely expended in England in furtherance of French interests, and suspicion fell upon the Tories. Their disregard of the appeals for help made by Protestant Holland to Protestant England had raised a strong feeling against them. All, therefore, who believed in the necessity of maintaining the Reformed Faith, felt how closely the cause of Protestantism was interwoven with the independence of Holland. The Tories saw their mistake before it was too late, and brought a stormy session to a close with a resolution passed *nem. con.* to 'effectively assist His Majesty to support his Allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe.' They even voted liberal supplies to enable him to thwart the French King in his designs upon Holland and the Low Country. William thereupon prorogued Parliament, and determined in his own mind to dissolve it, and employ his old friends, the Whigs. At the same time orders were issued for the despatch to Holland of the 10,000 troops with which England was bound by treaty to supply the Dutch in time of need.* 24, 6, 1701.

* Twelve battalions went from Ireland: ten embarked at Cork, and two at Carrickfergus. They were, two of the Royal Scots, and one from each of the following regiments: the Leicester, Norfolk, South Wales Borderers, Liverpool, East York, Royal Irish, Somerset Light Infantry, Lincoln, Royal Welsh, and the Bedford regiments.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

MARLBOROUGH APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE ARMY IN FLANDERS.

William, feeling he has not the health or strength to command the Army in Flanders, appoints Marlborough to do so, and to be his Minister Plenipotentiary.

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ALTHOUGH William was only in his fifty-first year, he had for some time suffered from internal ailments, and the cares and anxieties of his eventful life had already told upon his frail constitution. His mind was as clear and his will as determined as ever, but his body was well-nigh worn out. He did his best to conceal the real state of his health from the outer world, lest the truth might deter foreign Powers from joining in that coalition against Lewis XIV. of which he was the animating spirit. But even when in his heart he knew that he had but a short time to live, and increasing weakness warned him that he could never again take the field, his first thought was still of Holland and her welfare. Since the transfer of the Spanish Empire to the Bourbon prince had added fresh strength and vitality to the long-cherished aspirations of the French King, William felt that a general combination of Powers against Lewis XIV. was more than ever necessary.

It was of the first consequence to him that the command of the army in Flanders should be in the hands of one strong enough to maintain, even after his death, the co-operation of England in this war. But whom should he

select for this all-important position? A long series of campaigns had enabled him to appraise the military talents of his Generals, and to estimate their respective capabilities. For this war something more than a mere gallant leader was required, and William's knowledge of English character and of our insular prejudice against the employment of foreigners told him, that his choice must fall on an Englishman; at the same time, the nature of the duties that would devolve upon him made it essential that he should be a man capable of influencing public opinion, and of ruling the future Queen. By no other means could he hope to secure continuity of policy after he was gone.

Two English Generals only could be named as possible leaders in the coming war: the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Marlborough. Ormond was the greatest peer in Ireland, possessed of immense estates, able and experienced in public affairs, but as a soldier he preferred the pageantry of war to the hard work and rude realities of the field. As became the head of a great and ancient family, he was proud of his position in the world, generous in public life, and far more generally popular than Marlborough, who hated display, especially if it cost him money.

Ormond, who had been a soldier from infancy, looked upon the command of the English army in Holland as his almost by right, and was sorely disappointed when it was given to Marlborough—a man of small means and without hereditary position in the country;* and these feelings were shared by many leading public men, who seemed to think it more important that the General Commanding should be a personage of rank and high social position than one eminently qualified as a soldier. The cruel folly of such a view was afterwards proved in the campaign of 1708 in the Netherlands, when the Duke of Burgundy was given power to interfere with Marshal Vendome, who commanded the army in the field, because of his rank as a Prince of

* See letter of 9, 6, 1701, from Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, vol. iii., p. 146, of 'Letters in Reign of William,' by G. P. R. James.

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the blood: Oudenarde was the result. But William knew too much of war, and was too wise to make such a mistake, and in his choice between the two rivals—the man of rank and the soldier of genius—he never hesitated. As long as health and strength permitted him to take the field himself, he never cared to have about him Generals of first-rate ability, for, like many celebrated leaders, he was content to surround himself with subordinates of very ordinary talents. But now that he must surrender the command to another, he was determined to select the best man in his kingdom, and undoubtedly that man was Marlborough. He knew him to be not only an able General, but also the ablest of diplomatists, and the only Englishman who exercised a sufficiently powerful and directing influence over the Princess Anne. William's great desire was to make certain that the war should be continued with vigour after his death, and knowing Marlborough's ambitious nature, he felt confident that he could depend upon him to prosecute a war from which he might reasonably expect to reap both fame and fortune.

$\frac{1}{12}$ 6, 1701.

A few weeks after Marlborough's appointment to this command, he was further made Ambassador Extraordinary

$\frac{28}{5}$-6/7, 1701.

and Plenipotentiary to the States of Holland, for William knew from personal experience how essential it is for the Commander-in-Chief in the field to be armed with full diplomatic powers. History, in which he was deeply read, had taught him that the world's greatest commanders had been skilful diplomatists, and that, in fact, it is difficult to dissociate the two callings in the field, and impossible to do so without injury, if not danger to the State. Marlborough's commission as Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces in Holland empowered him to make regulations and ordinances for the better government of the troops, and to punish by court-martial all who transgressed them. He might also grant commissions to officers as vacancies occurred — a privilege which was a fruitful means of money-making in those days. The renewal of the 'Grand Alliance' was to be his first aim, and he was authorized to enter into

negotiations with that object in view. His instructions bade him demand the withdrawal of French troops from the towns of the Spanish Netherlands, the surrender of Newport and Ostend to English keeping, and of Luxembourg, Namur and Mons to that of the States-General.

It is a remarkable fact in this great English soldier's life that he should have been selected for these high duties by the stern and hostile William, rather than by the friendly Anne. He was singled out to command the Dutch and English armies by a Sovereign who had never liked him, who had imprisoned him without trial, who was jealous of his military reputation amongst the English people, and who had strongly resented his open condemnation of the preference long shown to Dutch favourites about the Court.

To be sent abroad as Ambassador Extraordinary was, in those days, a lucrative, as well as an honourable, employment, and amongst the customary perquisites of the office was a large quantity of plate. Marlborough's brother-in-law, Colonel Godfrey, the 'Master of His Majesty's Jewell house,' was ordered to provide him with 'the Quantity of ffive thousand eight hundred ninty three ounces of white platte, and one thousand sixty six ounces of Gilt platte which was the allowance heretofore given on ye like occasion,' etc.* He was given £1,500 'for his equipage,' and £100 'the weake for his Ordinary Entertainment, to commence from the day of his departure out of and to continue until the day of his returning into His Majesties presence inclusive,' etc.† Permission was given him to spend what sums he thought necessary on secret service.

$\frac{25}{6}\cdot\frac{6}{7}$, 1701.

* Lord Chamberlain's Records. In the accounts of the plate delivered out of the Jewel House and not returned between August 10, 1696, and March 25, 1702, 7,396 ounces of white plate, which cost £2,465 6s. 8d., were issued to Marlborough.

† Docket Books, Privy Seal, in Public Record Office.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

MARLBOROUGH NEGOTIATES THE SECOND 'GRAND ALLIANCE.'

Marlborough goes to Holland with William — Marlborough's able diplomacy — The position of European Powers — Tory sentiment opposed to war—Marlborough's Convention with Charles XII.—Sarah joins her husband in Holland—His indefatigable industry, and the difficulties he had to contend with — The terms of the 'Second Grand Alliance' — The *dénombrement* arranged — The press-gang and the desertion it led to.

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WHEN Lord Marlborough embarked with the King at Margate on the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, he entered upon the war that was to render his name immortal. Promotion came to him late in life, for he was already in his fifty-second year, and except during his expedition to Ireland, eleven summers before, he had never held independent command or high office. It must have been evident to Marlborough that William could not last long, and that upon his death the sovereign power would virtually devolve upon Anne's favourite, Sarah, and through her upon himself. Already he saw honours, fame, and wealth within his grasp. Confident in his own power, after long waiting upon fortune, he at last saw an opportunity for showing his military and diplomatic ability. William, on his part, did all he could to associate Marlborough with the Allies upon whom he counted in the coming struggle. They were all aware that upon William's death the General and Plenipotentiary would be all-powerful in England through his influence over Anne, and that

Sept. 7, 1701.

negotiations entered into with him would not fall to the ground by the change of English Sovereigns.

Having reached the Hague after a short voyage of two days, our new Commander-in-Chief took up his residence in the town mansion of Prince Maurice, which was near the King's palace. It had been placed at his disposal by the States-General to mark their esteem for one who held so high a place in his Majesty's councils, and there he received visits from all the foreign Ministers at the Dutch Court, and entertained with great state all whom he wished to influence in his negotiations. As usual, the King was received most warmly by all classes of his countrymen. The day after his arrival he went to the Assembly of the States-General, and delivered an able, patriotic, and touching address, in which he deplored the unfortunate turn which affairs had taken, to the permanent danger of the land he loved, and to the general peace of Europe. He congratulated them upon their wise promptitude in the adoption of defensive measures, and he reassured them by stating that unless Holland could obtain from France a sufficient guarantee for her integrity as a State, they might count upon the support of England. May 7, 1701.

Fruitless and futile communications passed between William and Lewis. Neither had any intention of giving way, but at the same time neither wished to strike the first blow. To the Allies time was everything; for, as usual, England was unready, and the unmilitary Dutch were not yet prepared for hostilities on shore. Both sides pushed on their warlike preparations; the French busy in completing their lines from the Meuse to the Scheldt, near Antwerp, and thence to Ostend, whilst the Dutch were strengthening Nimeguen and other places on their threatened frontiers.

Marlborough, one of the most successful diplomatists who has ever represented England in the councils of Europe, now applied all his energies to effect a renewal of the celebrated 'Grand' or 'Triple Alliance' between the States-General of Holland, the Emperor and England. Lewis endeavoured

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to thwart him by pretending to wish for peace, and succeeded in bringing the Dutch to believe in the assurance of his friendly feelings towards them. The Pensionary Heinsius, deceived by these professions, tried to persuade Marlborough that Lewis would in the end do all that was demanded of him sooner than embark in a war with the three Powers. Lewis, however, had no such intention, as he knew his position at the time to be specially strong. He had secured France and Spain from invasion by treaties with Portugal and Savoy, and thanks to the recognition of his grandson as King of Spain, which he had obtained from the duchy of Milan and the Two Sicilies, he could at any moment invade the Austrian provinces of Lombardy from Mantua and the neighbouring fortresses. The condition of Europe also favoured his projects. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne had become his firm allies, whilst the military strength of the German princes hostile to France had been weakened by the religious feuds to which the Reformation had given birth, by civil strife, and by a desire for political freedom which the French King took care to foster. Under these influences many of the German princes had, in self-defence, gladly allied themselves with France. Besides, they were angry with the Emperor, who had excited amongst them a strong and bitter feeling of jealousy by raising Brandenburg into a kingdom, and Hanover into an electorate. Once more the Turks threatened the frontiers of the empire, and rebellion was imminent in Hungary. Nevertheless, the Emperor was so personally and directly interested in opposing the French claims to the Spanish Crown that he had already sent an Imperial army under Prince Eugène across the Trentine Alps to the frontiers of Lombardy. But it was no easy matter to deal with him, on account of his exaggerated pretensions to the Spanish Crown.

William's great scheme was the renewal of the 'Grand Alliance,' that strong and effective Coalition between Holland, England, and the Empire, as principals, whilst

the smaller German kingdoms and electorates were invited to join it against their common enemy, France, but without having any voice in the direction of its main lines of policy. The respective interests of Holland and the Empire were, however, so conflicting, that it required all Marlborough's skill to reconcile their inordinate demands with the insular policy of the Tory Ministry. Writing to Godolphin, after his first conference with Heinsius and the Imperial delegates, Marlborough says: 'A great deal of time was spent in the Emperor's Ministers complaining of the Treaty of Partition, and when we came to the business for which we met, they would have the foundation of the treaty to be for lessening the power of France, and assisting the Emperor in his just rights to the Monarchy of Spain. But the Pensionary would not consent to anything further than that the Emperor ought to be satisfied with having Flanders, which would be a security to the Dutch; and Milan as a fief of the Empire. After four hours' wrangling, the two envoys went away; and then I endeavoured to let the Pensionary see that no treaty of this kind would be acceptable in England, if there were not care taken of the Mediterranean and the West Indies. When I gave the King an account, he was of my mind, so that the Pensionary has promised to use his endeavours with the town of Amsterdam; for they are unwilling to consent to anything more than Flanders and Milan.' Nov. 7, 1701.

Sweden was then ruled by the eccentric young hero Charles XII. He owed William much, for, as already described, it was the co-operation of the English and Dutch fleets in his favour the year before that had saved his kingdom from destruction. The growing preponderance of France in Europe began to excite the apprehensions of this young soldier-King, and the military reputation won for Lewis XIV. by able Generals to rouse his jealousy. That wily monarch, already sensible of how formidable this new force in the North might become, did all he could by flattery cunningly lavished upon Charles, and gold freely

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bestowed upon his Ministers, to win Sweden to the side of France. By treaty we had bound ourselves under certain stipulated circumstances to furnish Charles XII. with a contingent of troops and ships; but we had also agreed with the King of Denmark that for certain considerations he would assist us with a Danish contingent of 3,000 Horse, 1,000 Dragoons, and 8,000 Foot; and there was always the possibility that Charles, by an attack upon Copenhagen, would disturb this arrangement. Marlborough, still a strong Tory at heart, had considerable influence with that party. But Tory sentiment was strongly opposed to all treaties and conventions which entailed war, immediate or prospective, upon England, and had consequently opposed and condemned the Partition Treaties of King William. The Tories neither could nor would share his views on foreign policy, or even discuss them logically and coolly, and they had from the first pressed him to recognise the Bourbon Prince as King of Spain. 'It grieves me to the soul,' he then wrote, 'that almost everyone rejoices that France has preferred the will to the treaty.'* But Marlborough rose superior to narrow party views. He knew as well as the King that by force alone could Lewis be kept out of Holland; and that were the United Provinces and Flanders, with all their wealth and naval and military resources, absorbed by France, as it might be said Spain had been, not only would Protestantism and liberty be extinguished, but even England might be unable to hold her own. In commissioning Marlborough to negotiate the 'Grand Alliance' against France, William looked to his influence with the Tory party to reconcile at least its leading members to his foreign policy. Anxious as Marlborough was to win the King's good opinion, he was too wise to commit himself to a treaty without first obtaining the sanction of those who exercised the sovereign power during the King's absence in Holland. The convention which he concluded with Charles XII., in September, was the only exception he

* Hardwick's State Papers, vol. ii., p. 396.

allowed himself, and he did so because he had to deal with a capricious despot whom it was necessary to coax and bring to terms on the spur of the moment whenever the opportunity offered. To await the confirmation of such an agreement from home would probably, in this instance, have put an end to the negotiation.

The terms he obtained from Charles were, that Sweden was not to enter into alliance with France, in consideration of the payment by England of 200,000 crowns, and of her guarantee for the 300,000 more which Holland agreed to advance in lieu of the troops and ships which we were bound by treaty to furnish. Marlborough also negotiated, though he did not finally conclude, a treaty with the newly created King of Prussia, whose chief aims were to obtain the recognition of his brother sovereigns, and to secure a subsidy for his exhausted treasury. In the draft treaty subsequently approved by the English Ministry, Prussia was to furnish a contingent of 5,000 men at once, and 20,000 additional soldiers later on. $\frac{2\,6}{7}$-$\frac{9}{17}$, 1701.

According to Marlborough's usual practice when separated from his wife, he wrote to her almost daily. Hitherto she had never accompanied him abroad, but upon this occasion, soon after his departure from home, she determined to join him in Holland. As will be seen from the following letter, he desired her to postpone doing so until he should be in a position to judge how his negotiations prospered. She did not, consequently, join him at the Hague before September.

'Neering, Aug. 1st, 1701.—I came on Wednesday night to Loo, and yesterday to this place, where I found the King ill of his knee. We all hope here it's the gout, and I think it is, but not in that violent degree that others have it. He is now better, and it is to be hoped he will not continue long lame, for the King of France has recalled his ambassador from the Hague, so that now we shall quickly see if he will begin the war, which makes me with a good deal of uneasiness tell you that you must defer your kind thoughts of a journey to this country until I can let you $\frac{7}{18}$ 9, 1701.

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know a little more certainly of how I shall be disposed of, for our actions now must be governed by what France will think fit to do. Where'er I am, it is impossible for anybody to love better than I do you. My next will be from the Hague, for I intend to be a-going thither upon Monday, from whence you shall be sure to hear from him that is for ever,—Yours.—Remember me kindly to all the children, and let me know when Lady Spencer comes from Althorpe.'

Marlborough was neither given to reading for amusement, nor was he a man of pleasure; he hated writing letters, but a large correspondence on military as well as on diplomatic business kept him fully occupied at this time. With the Ministers at home, especially with his old friend Godolphin, he was in constant communication. His first great object was to carry them with him. He knew that although treaties might be ratified by the King, they would have no real validity unless approved by Parliament. He also knew that the best, if not the only, method of securing this approval was in the first instance to win the Ministers over to his views. He was anxious to carry out William's foreign policy, because he believed in it, and felt it to be the best policy for England. But he wished to pursue it by English and not by Dutch methods. He understood, not only his Tory friends, but also the sentiments and prejudices of his countrymen, which William was never able to comprehend. He consequently resisted the King's proposals for more rapid and independent action, knowing that he would most probably mar the whole combination if he ventured upon any such policy. We read of his rapid movements to and from Loo, Dieren, Breda, and the Hague, now to review some newly-arrived body of troops, now to confer with men who could influence the Princes he desired to win over. He had to settle with the Dutch authorities where the British troops were to be quartered, and how they were to be fed. He had also to look after the discipline of the army. In fact, all the chief duties connected with the command and administration of

the troops, especially the British contingent, fell to his lot. To reconcile the conflicting interests of the various States, to allay the jealousies of their rulers, and to administer tactfully and in due proportion both flattery and bribes, was no very easy task. None but those, like Marlborough, who have complete control over their tempers can ever hope to bring such complicated negotiations to a successful issue. It is comparatively easy to conclude a treaty with one Sovereign or State, but he had to deal with many Sovereigns and many States at one and the same time. Owing, however, to his skill in diplomacy, he generally won the day in that war of words wherein the only forces employed are the wit and sagacity of the plenipotentiary. Diplomacy was then conducted with far greater secrecy than is possible in these days, and in all foreign negotiations the personal qualities of the diplomatist had consequently greater scope, and much more depended upon his ability, quickness and character, than at present.

The treaty now commonly known as the 'Second Grand Alliance' was partly drawn in the form of a series of proposals, so that Lewis XIV. might, if he chose, become a party to it without loss of dignity. There was no secret about its provisions, for an abstract of them was published in the *Paris Gazette*. Its immediate objects were the maintenance of perpetual peace between the contracting parties and the preservation of the balance of power. It forbade the union of France and Spain, or even the transfer of the Spanish Crown to any member of the Bourbon family. Lewis was not to possess himself of any of the Transatlantic provinces of Spain. England and Holland pledged themselves to satisfy the Emperor in respect of his claims to the Spanish succession, and the Spanish provinces in Italy were to be secured to him. France was to surrender the Netherlands, with all its fortresses, as a barrier against French aggression upon Holland. The maritime Powers—England and Holland—were to retain all their conquests in Spanish India. In fact, the treaty, unless

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accepted by France, meant little more than the alliance of the contracting parties against the boundless and unbearable ambition of Lewis XIV. If within two months from the signature of the treaty no satisfactory settlement were arrived at with him, the allies bound themselves to take the field. They promised to reconquer the Spanish possessions both in Italy and in the Netherlands, and to push the claims of the Archduke Charles to the Crown of Spain with all their united strength.

At the same time Marlborough concluded a separate treaty of alliance between England and Holland, in which the mutual assistance guaranteed by former treaties was confirmed. It also provided that, in future, the merchants of both nations should have the same trading rights in the Spanish possessions. This, and the possession of a line of barrier fortresses by Holland, were to be guaranteed by a defensive alliance when peace should be made. He submitted the draft to Godolphin for the consideration and approval of the Ministers, who made some trifling changes. $\frac{27}{7}$-$\frac{8}{6}$, 1701. Early in September, N.S., about a week before his wife's arrival, he succeeded in obtaining the signatures of the contracting parties to the main treaty. Considered in all its aspects, it was a compact of great importance to Europe, and especially to England, for it formed the basis of all his subsequent negotiations with foreign Powers during the great decade of our national glory in Queen Anne's reign. He reserved the final approval of England for the decision of the Lord Justices, and the clauses which dealt with money, troops and ships, for the sanction of the House of Commons. He was pressed by the Grand Pensionary, and even by King William himself, to settle this important point out of hand as the English representative; but although no great stickler for constitutional checks upon the Royal authority, he knew too well the jealousy of Parliament in such matters to consent to do so. He refers to this point in the following extracts from his correspondence. Writing to Mr. Secretary Hedges in

October, he says: 'I will let you know the method I could wish His Majesty would take, which is, very plainly to let the Parliament know what the Emperor and the Dutch are to furnish: and at the same time to give his own opinions very frankly, and that, by the 24th November, our style, which is the day the two months end, mentioned in the treaty, he is obliged to fix this *dénombrement*. I think by this method we shall have the Parliament on our side, and gain a greater number of men than the other way. Were I with you I would say a great deal on this subject: for I am so fully persuaded that, if the King should be prevailed upon to settle this by his own authority, we shall never see a quiet day more in England: and consequently not only ruin ourselves, but also undo the liberties of Europe: for if the King and Parliament begin with a dispute, France will give what laws she pleases. I am sure I would rather be buried alive than be the fatal instrument of such misfortunes.'

Again, on the 21st, he wrote to Lord Godolphin: 'It is very plain to me that the Pensioner continues his opinion, that I ought to finish the *dénombrement* before the meeting of Parliament; but I have been so positive that he despairs of prevailing upon me; but I am afraid he hopes the King may be able, when he comes to England, to persuade yourself and the Cabinet Council to it, so that I may have orders sent me, believing that I should then make no difficulty; but I do assure you that I am so persuaded that the doing of this, by his Majesty's authority, would prove so fatal to himself and the kingdom, that I should desire to be recalled; for, before God, I will die sooner than do so fatal a thing.' $\frac{10}{21}$ 10, 1701.

These were words of wise patriotism. They bespoke a man whose respect for the Constitution equalled the earnestness which he threw into the business entrusted to him by the King. Although his Tory prejudices still clung to him, it is evident from all he wrote, said and did at this time, that the Whig theory of government, policy, and

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aims were taking stronger possession of his mind, until they finally led to complete estrangement—which lasted throughout the following reign—between him and his old political friends. Every day he found that his Tory colleagues listened less to his advice, and that he was less able to induce them to adopt the King's foreign policy. In fact, except upon the point of fixing the succession of the Crown in the House of Hanover, Marlborough had not succeeded to any extent in gaining over the Tory Ministers to William's views and wishes.

Marlborough's arguments carried the day on the question of fixing the contingent to be furnished by each party to the treaty. A separate and subsidiary agreement was entered into, by which the Emperor bound himself to furnish an army of 90,000 men, and Holland 10,000, while England, subject to the consent of Parliament, was to provide an army of 40,000 men and an equal number of sailors. In his letters to the Tory Ministers, he urged upon them the necessity for agreeing to this proposal if they wished to gain the King's good-will. As a soldier also, his advice must have had much weight when he stated that those numbers would be required if France was to be successfully encountered on land and sea.

In England every effort was being made to collect a sufficient force for service abroad, but recruits were so hard to obtain that recourse was had to the 'press-gang.' The result was that large numbers deserted when in the field. When questioned as to their reasons for deserting, a great proportion said they had been pressed for sea-service, carried to the Tower, embarked blindfolded and transported to Flanders against their will. It is not to be wondered at that in one of the early years of the war near 1,500 English deserters were assembled in the towns of the Spanish Netherlands.*

* Lord Ailesbury's Memoirs, p. 523.

From a Miniature in the possession of
Walter the Duke of Buccleugh

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

DEATH OF JAMES II.

James's mode of life at St. Germains—Lewis recognises the Pretender as King of England when James dies—The English people don't understand 'Foreign Affairs.'—The nation, incensed by this new move of the French King, are in favour of war—William resolves to bring in the Whigs again—Preparations made by William for the coming war—Lord Cadogan—William returns to England, but leaves Marlborough at the Hague, much to his annoyance—The scheme to pass over Anne and bring in the Electress of Hanover at William's death.

JAMES II. had been for some time in failing health. For the last ten years he had led a harmless life at St. Germains, buoyed up by his English correspondents with delusive hopes of a second Restoration. When well enough he hunted, and when unable to ride he spent much time in the confessional, finding interest, if not enjoyment, in penance. His career is a striking illustration of the evils resulting from bigotry and superstition. He died unhonoured, on the day that the Second Grand Alliance was signed, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.* O.S. 9, 1701.

Lewis XIV. made a grave mistake when he seized the Netherland fortresses in the name of his grandson, the King of Spain, but he committed a still greater error when he recognised Prince James, commonly called the Pretender, as King of Great Britain and Ireland. William heard of it as he sat in council at Loo, and, unable to repress his anger,

* He was born $\frac{14}{24}$ 10, 1633.

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said openly that war was inevitable. Foreseeing this certain issue, he wisely gave orders to prepare for it at once by what we should now call the mobilization of the Dutch army.

The recognition of the Pretender by Lewis can only be attributed to one of two motives: he either hoped to keep alive the Jacobite party and feeling in England in order to weaken William's power, or he was actuated by a passing sentiment in favour of a fallen and dying King, a kinsman and an exile. If the latter, the step was more creditable to his heart than to his head. It was clearly a breach of

1697.

covenant; for although no article in the Treaty of Ryswick positively forbade this course, or specifically bound Lewis to recognise William as King of England, still he had therein stipulated to leave him in undisputed possession of Great Britain and Ireland. Our astute Dutch King must have chuckled —if he ever allowed himself such a gratification— over this unwise proceeding, which could do him little harm, while it strengthened his hands most effectively in England. William's greatest difficulty had always been the short-sightedness of even the more enlightened Englishmen upon questions of international policy. Their aims and views were narrowed down to what they conceived to be the immediate interests of their own islands. They knew little of the 'balance of power' and cared less, and whether a Hapsburg or a Bourbon ruled in Spain was to them a matter of complete indifference; but they had made up their minds that no Roman Catholic should again rule in England. It was with some difficulty that William had roused them to fulfil their treaty obligations to Holland by the despatch of the stipulated 10,000 soldiers to her assistance, and to induce them to engage in war with France had hitherto seemed impossible. All was, however, changed by this recognition of the Pretender. The English people have always been intensely jealous of anything like foreign interference or dictation in their own internal affairs, and that Lewis XIV. should presume to recognise a King of

England against their wishes was an indignity that moved the wrath of the whole nation. It showed that no treaty could bind him. Yet we must not judge him too harshly for this breach of public faith, for powerful monarchs, and states with great national aspirations, rarely adhere to the terms of any treaty longer than it serves their purpose to do so.* In late years we ourselves have had some unpleasant experiences of this kind.

On receiving the news, William desired the Lords Justices to order the French Representative at St. James's to quit the country, and the English Ambassador in Paris to return home forthwith. Throughout England the excitement and indignation was general and intense, and William, never popular before, became for the time a sort of hero and was inundated with addresses from the great cities. All classes joined in condemning the insult offered to him by King Lewis. The gravity of the national crisis was generally recognised, and it was seen that the question at issue was whether we should bow to foreign dictation, or live a free and independent nation under a parliamentary form of government and a Protestant sovereign of our own choice. The insolence of the French King aroused a defiant spirit in England. The nation answered him with the cry of 'Let us fight it out!'—there was no uncertain sound about the reply.

William had for some time past contemplated the dismissal of his Ministry, but he had not yet come to a final decision in the matter. Of late the Whigs had not been as cordial as he could have wished; but at least they were not hostile, which was more than could be said of the Tories. In this difficulty, he turned once more to Lord Sunderland, who, hating the Tories, advised the King to recall his former Whig friends to office. Notwithstanding

* 'A treaty is an instrument by which a strong man, taken temporarily at a disadvantage, binds himself to do that which under happier circumstances he has no intention whatever of performing.'—The burlesque of the 'Happy Land,' 1873.

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their old friendship and their recent connection through the marriage of their children, Marlborough was sorely displeased with what he regarded as Sunderland's underhand conduct at this juncture. He refers occasionally to him in his letters at the time, and always with indignant resentment.* He still thought it possible to bring about a reconciliation between William and the Tories, and although the gulf between his party and himself was growing daily wider, he continued to hope that they might yet come round to the King's views, and support his war policy. Though fully conscious of their unsoundness upon questions of foreign policy, Marlborough had as yet no intention of severing himself from a party with which he had long acted, and to which he was attached by strong and intimate ties. Indeed, he even hints in his private letters that if William were to throw over the Tories, he would resign, and he persuaded his faithful friend Godolphin not to leave office, as he then wished to do, but to follow the counsels of Lord Rochester, the leader of the Tory party.

All this time the King's mind was being strongly influenced by men of whose views he entertained the highest opinion. First amongst them was Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary, his firmest friend, his most disinterested councillor, and his most faithful public servant. Heinsius urged the dismissal of the recalcitrant Tories, the dissolution of Parliament, and the formation of a Ministry pledged to support the coming war with France. Sunderland's advice was to the same effect, and he sent Lord Carlisle and other friends to Holland, to confer with William and to press this policy upon him. Marlborough was not taken into the King's confidence upon this question, but he could plainly see that William was becoming daily more and more estranged from the Tories, and in his heart he could not but feel that the King had every reason to be so. His own remonstrances with them had proved of no avail, and they seemed for the moment to have entirely misapprehended the drift of

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 100.

popular feeling in England. Marlborough thought it advisable in this condition of affairs to try and bring matters to a crisis, and he adopted the following device with that object. He persuaded Godolphin to write him a letter, so worded that he might show it to the King, and containing an assurance of his belief in the Tories' honesty of purpose and in their determination to support William vigorously in the coming war with France. Godolphin did as Marlborough directed. His letter was a long apology for the Tories, and dwelt upon their strong and righteous claims to William's confidence. It wound up with an earnest hope that Parliament might be summoned to meet at an early date to settle the grave questions then awaiting solution. Marlborough showed this letter to the King, who received it coldly, and as if he took little interest in its contents. He would say nothing to indicate his intentions, but his manner gave Marlborough little hope that he meant to trust the Tories in future.

$\frac{8}{20}$ 9, 1701.

William determined to play a waiting game. He had made up his mind to dismiss the Tories, but he wished English public opinion to be more pronounced against them before he made his intention known. On various pretexts he postponed his announced departure for London from day to day, so that he did not embark until November 3. From the contents of the following letters it is evident that he completely deceived Marlborough as to the time of his departure, for he was anxious to keep him in Holland as long as possible in order to avoid his remonstrances and pleadings on behalf of the Tories. It is possible also that he may still have had some dread of Marlborough's influence with them, and judging from what had passed since 1687, it was but natural that he should still retain some apprehensions on the score of his intriguing disposition. He had, however, no suspicion now as to Marlborough's honesty of purpose in support of a war policy, for he felt that, as Commander-in-Chief and Plenipotentiary he would from personal interest, if from no

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higher motive, stand by him whether the Tories did so or not. William, before leaving for England, desired his friend, Heinsius, to do everything in his power to hinder Marlborough from soon following him. The following letter from Marlborough—probably to Lord Godolphin—describes the position, as he understood it, shortly after the Grand Alliance had been concluded:* 'Hague, October 3, 1701.—The reason I did not write to you from Dieren by the last post was the latter going away the minute I came from the King. What I apprehended of the Pensioner's having a mind to have me stay some time after his Majesty, I find has its effect; for I am to be left here till the end of this month. The measures the King has now taken for the not directing the proclamation for the sitting of the Parliament till he comes to England, I do verily believe does not proceed from any thoughts he has to have a new one, but from his being persuaded that upon this occasion there ought to be something more than what has been usual. I am pretty confident that this advice must come from you by the King's calculation. This will put the meeting of Parliament off till towards the 10th of the next month, for he will be here next Thursday, and, if the wind be fair, leave this place upon Saturday, so that he hopes to be at London upon the 13th or 14th, which he has commanded me to let you know, and desire you would be there at his arrival being resolved to let you know everything, and, I hope, to follow your advice. If 16 be in the country, I hope you will take care for the good of the whole to have him in London by the middle of this month. I am so apprehensive of Lady Marlborough being sick in this country that I would have persuaded her to have gone at the same time with the King, but I cannot prevail; it may be you may. You will excuse me that I trouble you again about the *dénombrement*. I have made use of the argument that is very natural for England, which is that their expense at sea must be great.

$\frac{22}{3}$-$\frac{0}{10}$, 1701.

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

This argument is of more use to me when I speak to the Imperialists than with the Pensioner, for the latter tells me that they shall be willing to furnish at sea the same proportion as they did the last war, which was three in eight; and since their land forces are greater than they were the last war, the people here might reasonably expect that ours might not be less. I continue still of the opinion that it would be better not to have this settled anywhere but in Parliament; but on the other hand I ought to say something to them and I should be glad to know if I might not endeavour to make them not expect more than one half of what they had the last war. For aught I know, this may be more than England will care to do; but I hear no other language here than that this war must be carried with more vigour than the last, if we ever hope to see a good end of it; and I confess it is so much my own opinion that I hope we shall do our utmost. What that is, you and 16 are more properer judges than I am. When the King speaks to you of this matter, I beg you will be positive in the opinion that it is of the last consequence not to do anything in it but in Parliament. That which makes me the more pressing in this of the *dénombrement* is that the Pensioner is inclined to have it done before the Parliament meets, which I think would be destruction. My Lord Galloway goes from hence this evening and says he shall endeavour to see you before the King's arrival. It is impossible to express how much I long to be with you, which will be by the end of this month, if you can let the King see that my presence may be necessary for his service. I mean my being there a week or ten days before Parliament meets.'

Another letter addressed to Viscount Hatton is also interesting:* 'Hague, Oct. $\frac{8}{19}$, 1701.—My Lord, the enclosed treatys† being all that are as yett concluded, I

* From vol. ii. of the Hatton Correspondence.

† The Second Grand Alliance between England, the Empire, and Holland against France.

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take the liberty to send them as to a friend whose judgment I must depend upon. I desire you will take noe notice of the having seen them, and when I have the honour of seeing you, which I hope may be before the parl. meets, I shall let you know my reasons for what is done as well as acquaint you with all that shall be done. For I call God to witnesse that I have had noe thoughts but what might be for the good of England. If the wind proves fair, the King will embarke in 4 or 5 days. I shall continue here till the end of this month. I am with much truth and respect, etc., MARLBOROUGH.'

Whilst both William and Marlborough had been busily occupied in the formation and consolidation of the Grand Alliance, the military preparations for the inevitable war were not forgotten. The States-General pressed forward the mobilization of their army with great earnestnees, having obtained many recruits from England and Ireland. A large camp had been formed at Breda, where the twelve English battalions, together with other troops, were concentrated. William reviewed them there at the end of September, and dined afterwards at Marlborough's headquarters.

We now hear for the first time of the burly Irishman, William Cadogan, Marlborough's able Lieutenant and excellent staff officer.* He was the son of a Dublin lawyer, and had attracted Marlborough's notice as a gallant soldier at the taking of Cork and Kinsale. Although the Duchess quarrelled with him late in life, and accused him of ingratitude to her husband's memory, we cannot forget that when Marlborough was removed from the army, and persecuted by the Harley clique, Cadogan stood by 'the great man to whom,' as he wrote, 'I am under such infinite obligations,' adding in his Irish way: 'I would be a monster if I did otherwise.' When the twelve battalions were ordered from Ireland to Holland, Cadogan was serving in Ireland as Major

* Born most probably about 1670.

of the Royal Irish Dragoons; and having been selected by Marlborough for the office of Quartermaster-General in the Low Countries, he accompanied these battalions abroad with the rank of Colonel. He knew his business well, and was of great use in preparing the British troops for the coming war. He contrived to amass a comfortable fortune during his campaigns under Marlborough, for in those days men were not scrupulous as to the means they employed to obtain money. We read, for example, that men who sought interviews with Marlborough paid Cadogan well for obtaining them.*

After the King's departure for England, Marlborough, who was most anxious to follow him, expected his recall by every post. He dreaded the dismissal of his friends from office, and was full of apprehension concerning the attitude which William might adopt with regard to the Tories. It was evident that he was being designedly retained in Holland, but for no object connected either with the army or the coming war. The long-looked-for recall came at last, and he sailed for England at once, but as he was about to start he received the startling news that Parliament had been dissolved, and that Godolphin had resigned his post at the Treasury. William had cleverly availed himself of the popular ebullition of feeling against France, and the consequent reaction in his own favour; the result was a new House of Commons with a strong Whig majority pledged to support his war policy. Marlborough reached London some few days afterwards in very low spirits.

$\frac{2}{4}$-$\frac{11}{12}$, 1701.

About the date of his return home, there was much talk amongst some of the leading Whigs of passing over the Princess Anne upon the death of William, and of crowning the Elector of Hanover. This project had its origin in the dread felt by many, that the accession of Anne would virtually confer sovereign power on Marlborough, who,

* Hook mentions that he paid Cadogan sixty Louis d'ors for such an interview.

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through his wife, was still known to direct Anne's thoughts and actions. Lord Dartmouth tells us that the Dukes of Bolton and Newcastle had pressed him to join in a plot for the supercession of the Princess, impressing upon him that he need expect little favour if Marlborough ruled in Whitehall. Dartmouth says that Marlborough asked him if he had heard of this proposal, and that he answered 'Yes,' but did not regard it seriously. Marlborough, however, assured him that the plot existed, but that he would never allow it to be carried out, exclaiming vehemently: 'By God, if ever they attempt it, we shall walk over their bellies!'*

William's strength was meanwhile waning fast, though he still concealed from all but his faithful Portland the serious nature of his ailments, lest it should frighten timid Allies, and so injure the great cause which he had so much at heart.

* Note to p. 299, Book V., of Burnet.

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DEATH OF WILLIAM III.

William's impressive and patriotic speech when he opened Parliament—It was well received—Bill of Attainder against the Pretender—Several Tory Ministers removed and Whigs substituted for them—Marlborough returns home to find public opinion in favour of a war with France—The English troops ordered to embark the end of February—William anxious to effect the Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland—Thrown from his horse, and dies shortly after—His liberality on all religious questions and anxiety to deal generously with the Irish—He was not regretted—His death a boon to Lewis XIV.—Marlborough's correspondence with St. Germains at this period.

WILLIAM landed at Margate on his birthday, and was most cordially received. Addresses poured in upon him from every quarter urging an immediate dissolution of Parliament. Popular feeling was strongly against the Tories, whose obstructive conduct towards the King at home, and whose policy of peace at any price, had aroused widespread dissatisfaction. Within a week of his return writs were issued for a new Parliament, which met on December 30 after a stormy General Election. The Whigs were generally successful; and although many Tories were re-elected, those who supported the King's foreign policy were in a decided majority. The election of a Speaker was again keenly contested. 'There was great endeavours used for Littleton, but ye Church got it for ye old Speaker by 14 voyces: there was a great deale of money lost ye Wiggs

$\frac{4}{15}$ 11, 1701.

$\frac{30}{10}$-$\frac{12}{1}$, 170$\frac{1}{2}$.

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were so confident; your neighbour Denton proffered 50g. to 5."*

William opened the Session with an impressive speech, full of manly sense and vigorous patriotism.† He dwelt upon the dangers to which Europe, England, Protestantism, and liberty were exposed through the recent breach of the

1697.

Treaty of Ryswick by Lewis XIV. The coronation of that monarch's grandson as King of Spain had, he said, so strengthened France, that she had become a source of danger to every State in Europe. The French King's recognition of the Pretender as James III. was not only a gross insult to the nation, but closely concerned every English subject who loved his religion and liberty. If the union between France and Spain were sanctioned, English trade would be driven from the sea, and if France were allowed to support a Pretender to the British Throne, peace could not be maintained. In the spirit of a high-minded patriot, soaring above all the littleness of Whig and Tory factions, he implored them "to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divide and weaken you." He desired to be their common father he said, and entreated them to disappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. Henceforward there should only be two parties, one that wished to maintain the Protestant religion and the present establishment, and the other that meant a "Popish prince and a French government." In conclusion, he urged the need of despatch. This manly, stirring speech was received by Parliament and the people with genuine enthusiasm, and revived the anti-French feeling in every English county.

Happily for Great Britain, in all moments of great national excitement, the pulse of Parliament generally beats in unison with the feelings of the people. In this instance both Houses, in their Addresses to the King, expressed deep resentment at the insulting recognition of

* The Verney MSS. of 1702, extract from a letter: Claydon House.

† This speech was written by Lord Somers.

the Pretender by Lewis. They proudly demanded that there should be no peace until full reparation had been made for it, and they "offered to assist His Majesty to the utmost of their power in maintaining the succession in the Protestant line." The Commons added that they would grant the supplies required to support the alliances which William deemed necessary for preserving the liberties of Europe and reducing the exorbitant power of France.

In spite of vigorous opposition on the part of the Tories, a Bill of Attainder against the so-called James III. passed both Houses, and the conduct of the Tory leaders upon that occasion increased their unpopularity in the country. They still posed as the only true friends of the Church, but their Protestantism was of the narrow, bigoted type, which meant a bitter hatred of Dissenters and an ardent love for Jacobites, the known enemies of the Constitution in Church and State. The sentiment of the nation was not only Protestant, but also intensely antagonistic to Roman Catholicism.

The Whigs denounced the Tories as men who favoured a Popish Pretender and the French nation that protected him—a cry which strengthened the general hostility to all priestly influences, and prejudiced the popular mind against those who opposed William. The policy of the Tories was one of non-intervention in European affairs; England should be carefully guarded against becoming a principal in any war, and, if compelled to assist as an ally, she should positively restrict her share in the war to operations by sea. This policy has at all times commended itself to the English people, so much so that, had it not been for Lewis XIV.'s recognition of the Pretender as King of England, it is probable that William might never have succeeded in obtaining the sanction of Parliament to the Second Grand Alliance. That insolent recognition, however, changed the whole current of English feeling; and although William died before the war began, he lived long enough to see the old traditional objection to the employ-

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ment of English troops upon the Continent completely reversed.

Soon after the meeting of Parliament, several of the Tory Ministers were removed in order to make room for men pledged to support William's policy and the succession of the House of Hanover. Some of the moderate Tories were, however, retained in office, and also in high positions about the Court; and the election of Harley as Speaker showed the Whigs that they were not to have their own way entirely. To please the House of Commons and to secure its cordial support for the war, copies of all the treaties lately arranged by Marlborough were laid upon the table.* These met with such general approval that liberal supplies were at once voted. The strength of the British army to act against France in the Low Countries was fixed at 40,000 men, and a like number of seamen was to be provided for the navy. These were the numbers which Marlborough had secretly agreed upon with the States-General as the probable strength which Parliament would approve of.

O.S. 1 Jan., 1701.

When Marlborough reached London, he found that public opinion had undergone a change, and was now in favour of the anti-French policy which he had in vain urged upon his Tory friends: his sympathy with these views threw him more and more into the arms of the Whigs. His practice, like that of William, always was to make use of the good men on both sides as long as they could be induced to work together for the public welfare. It may be fairly designated as the coalition policy, and is naturally distasteful to the more ardent partisans of both sides. Godolphin, influenced probably by the superior genius of his friend, shared his moderate views on this point, and when pressed by William, in November, 1700, to take office, he had, against his own inclination, become First Commissioner of the Treasury in what may be regarded as a Tory Administration. But to Marlborough's

* Mr. Vernon's letter of O.S. 1, 1702, to George Stepney.

great chagrin he found on his return home that Godolphin had resigned and had been replaced at the Exchequer by the Whig, Lord Carlisle. Godolphin had acted contrary to Marlborough's advice, in not awaiting his return before he resigned his office. The cause of his retirement, like so many of his other acts in the reign of William, is shrouded in mystery, but probably he found difficulty in overcoming his repugnance, on financial grounds, to the Whig war-policy, which had recently taken such strong possession of the public mind.

Preparations for the coming war were now pushed forward, and commissions were issued in February to raise nine new regiments of Foot.* All the old regiments of Foot, both in Holland and at home, were raised to thirteen companies of sixty men each, and nearly all those of Horse and Dragoons in England were ordered to be ready to embark for Holland at the end of February.† A train of artillery of 55 guns and 3 mortars was also fitted out at the Tower for this service. Jan. 2, 1702.

After the Peace of Ryswick, Parliament had insisted upon the reduction of the army to 7,000 men, and the number of sailors from 40,000 to 8,000, but when it became necessary to collect an army for the field, men realized the folly then committed. Although a large proportion of the old soldiers dismissed in 1697 re-enlisted, there was still 1697.

* These nine regiments are now the Worcestershire, East Lancashire, East Surrey, Cornwall Light Infantry, West Riding, the Border Regiment, Hampshire, South Staffordshire, and the Dorsetshire. Each was to consist of 12 companies, 38 officers, and 795 non-commissioned officers and privates, servants included.

† The regiments of Horse were Lumley's (1st Dragoon Guards), Wood's (3rd Dragoon Guards), Lord Arran's (5th Dragoon Guards), Wyndham's (6th Dragoon Guards), Schomberg's (7th Dragoon Guards), and a regiment made up from the troops of Life Guards. The regiments of Light Horse to have fifty-nine men in each troop. Lord Teviot's regiment of Dragoons (the Scots Greys), and two regiments of Foot, Colonel Row's (the Royal Scots Fusiliers) and Colonel Ferguson's (the Scottish Rifles), were also ordered from Scotland to Holland.

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considerable difficulty in filling the ranks. The gaols were emptied, and all tramps and vagrants were compelled to become soldiers. An Act was passed in 1702 to allow men imprisoned for debts under £100 to go free, provided they joined the army or the navy, and by the Mutiny Act of that year criminals could obtain a pardon on similar terms.*

Early in the year the King urged Parliament to effect a complete legislative and administrative Union between England and Scotland, as he foresaw the difficulty that would arise at Anne's death if the question of the succession of the Princess Sophia to the Crown of Scotland had to be settled by an independent Scotch Parliament. He felt the union of the two Crowns to be a matter of great national importance, and he therefore urged it upon the attention of Parliament. Before this could be satisfactorily settled, it was thought necessary that a new Scotch Parliament should be summoned; but, owing to the state of the Highlands at that juncture, it was deemed inexpedient further to complicate matters there by a General Election. The question was, therefore, dropped for the time, but only to be taken up with vigour by Marlborough in the following reign.† The actual passing of the Act of Union, one of the most essential to the greatness of our empire, was reserved for Anne's reign.

The King's health improved during the winter of 1701-2, and he frequently rode from Kensington to Hampton Court to hunt. How long he might have been spared, had no accident befallen him, is a matter of mere speculation, but $\frac{21}{3}$-$\frac{3}{3}$, $170\frac{1}{2}$. on February 21, when out riding, his horse fell with him,

* Clode, vol. i., p. 15. In a letter of 4, 3, 1700, the Secretary at War sends orders to the Mayor of Northampton desiring that certain named prisoners about to be released should be retained until the arrival of an officer whom Marlborough had sent to fetch them. Clode, vol. i., p. 585.

† Sarah to the Earl of Marchmont, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{6}$ 6, 1734; Marchmont Papers, vol. ii., p. 30.

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and the King broke his collar-bone. The accident did not at first seem to affect his general health, for he carried on his business as usual, and pressed forward some useful measures in Parliament. On March 1, however, unfavourable symptoms showed themselves, and although he was able to give the Royal Assent to some Bills, his strength thenceforward gradually failed. Early on Sunday, March 8, he received the Sacrament, took an affectionate leave of his most intimate friends, and died at 8 a.m., evincing the same firm resignation which he had ever shown at all periods of his life. $\frac{8}{19}$ 3, 170$\frac{1}{2}$.

William knew for some time before his death that his days were numbered. 'It is a fine thing to be a young man,' he pathetically said, when he heard of the victories won by Charles XII. and by Prince Eugène. He did not fear to die, but he deeply regretted that he could not live to see the policy which he had long advocated fully carried out. He seems, however, to have realized that his successor would, under Marlborough's guidance, be able to pursue it, and specially recommended him to her for the purpose. His recent experience of Marlborough in Holland had convinced him of his statesmanlike grasp, of his adroitness in the management of cross-grained allies, and of his marked skill in diplomacy. Of his military genius he had long been aware.

William's last public act was to give official sanction to the Bill of Attainder against the Pretender. When it was presented to him for signature, he could no longer write, but a few hours before he died he was able to stamp it.

So ended the reign of William of Orange, one of the greatest of our kings, and one who has rendered his name immortal in our history. He was not a great General. An epigrammatic Frenchman said of Turenne and William, that the former with small armies was able to make war on a grand scale, and that the latter with great armies at his disposal was never able to rise above operations which

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are technically classified as 'little war.'* In Ireland he has always been looked upon as a King of strong anti-Roman Catholic tendencies; but this is an incorrect view of his character. Before the English victory at Aughrim, he had, with true wisdom and liberality, wished to offer to the Irish Catholics the free exercise of their religion, together with half the Church buildings and half their ancient Church property.† Had this been the practical result of his Irish conquest, of what difficulties it would have relieved the United Kingdom, and what an amount of misery it would have saved the warm-hearted, clever, but easily misled Irish people!

Yet, although the British nation was deeply indebted to William, few Englishmen mourned his loss. He had, indeed, secured to them their liberty and religion, and had always ruled them justly and constitutionally, but he had never succeeded in either giving or inspiring confidence and affection. No one loved him, no one missed him. Charles II. was deeply regretted when he died; but, he was an Englishman in all his ways, whilst William was not only a foreigner by birth, but also by temperament and education, which alone was enough to make him unpopular. Even before he was buried, men went about congratulating one another upon again having an English Sovereign to reign over them, and rejoicing that henceforward no English gold would be annually diverted to Holland. So much for national gratitude!

William's death was a real source of congratulation to the French King, and he rejoiced over it as if he had won a victory. The name of Marlborough, soon to be dreaded in every French château and peasant's hovel, was still comparatively unknown, and Lewis naturally concluded that the Grand Alliance created by the King of England

* It is not easy to find English equivalents for the expressions, 'La grande guerre,' and 'La petite guerre.'

† Scott's Swift, vol. xviii., p. 13.

expressly for the abasement of France would now fall to pieces. Marlborough's adversaries had yet to learn that he could not only by tact and personal influence hold together the members of that Alliance and make them work steadily towards one great aim as cleverly as William could have done, but that he could also command the Allied troops in the field with a brilliancy and success for which William could not have even hoped.

Marlborough had ceased to correspond by letter with St. Germains, but he continued to have interviews with the agents of James and the Pretender. He is referred to frequently in the Jacobite correspondence of the time as 'Gourny,' 'Gurney,' 'Armsworth,' and the 'Lawyer.' The agents through whom he communicated with his old master, and, after James's death, with the ex-Queen, were Colonel Sackville and Mr. Berry. Even so late as May, 1702, we find Lord Caryll referring, in his letters from St. Germains, in his usual counterfeit trade phraseology, to the 'contract' between Mary of Modena and Marlborough.* In this treasonable correspondence, Lord Godolphin was as deeply implicated as Marlborough, but it is evident, from the Stewart papers, that little reliance was placed by the Jacobite Court in either of them. It was hoped that Anne would not live long, that the Pretender would be recalled, and that the settlement of the Crown upon the House of Hanover would be ignored. Lord Caryll writes that, should Marlborough and Godolphin not 'concur in this, they are certainly the unjustest, and I think the most imprudent men that ever lived; for, notwithstanding their great practice at present, should Hanmer (Hanover) step into the copyhold, none would more feel the inconvenience of it than they and others.'† He adds further on, 'The great question will be, what better security they will or can give for the performance of this new agreement than they gave for the former one, for which we had promises and oaths. But

* Macpherson, vol. i., p. 609. † *Ibid.*, p. 610.

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this only between you and me; for we must not reproach to their faces those whom we would gain, but rather take for current coin their excuses of want of power and ability to perform.' Evidently they were still playing the old game as they had played it throughout William's reign—hedging against the possibility, if not the probability, of another Restoration which they did not desire and would take no honest or active measure to bring about. So anxious were the Court at St. Germains to obtain the cordial support of Marlborough at this time, and so highly did they estimate its value, that a proposal was set on foot for the marriage of the Pretender with one of Marlborough's daughters.

CHAPTER XCI.

MARLBOROUGH AT FIFTY-TWO.

'He was ambitious;
If it were so, it were a grievous fault,
And grievously hath Cæsar answered it.'

The serious charges commonly urged against him—The age in which he lived—He was far above it—A practical man of business—His amiable qualities—Swift's hatred of him—His love of money and avarice—His knowledge of men—His Toryism and general policy—His oratory—Love of home—His deep religious feeling—His devotion to Sarah—His greatness and his fame.

MARLBOROUGH was the servant of England until William died, when it was commonly said that he mounted the Throne; he certainly ruled England from that time until his downfall; and here, upon the threshold of his decade of glory, I must for a time take leave of my readers. I have yet to tell the story of his long war with France in Queen Anne's reign, of the able diplomacy with which he prepared the way for victory, and of the combined wisdom and boldness with which he ruled England. The story of his life in the eighteenth century is more easily put into words, and, as a matter of national history, is brighter reading than the narrative of his previous career to which these two volumes have been devoted.

The portion of his life dealt with in these pages embraces the gravest of the charges preferred against him. Hitherto there has been little independent inquiry into his early life

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and doings, and although his memory has long been branded as infamous, no one hitherto has sifted the evidence upon which his enemies denounced him. Each succeeding historian has been content to follow Marlborough's story as it was originally told for political purposes, by the unscrupulous Swift. It is high time now that the accusations made against him should be reviewed. Six generations have come and gone since he ruled England, and, at this distance of time, we are in a position to criticise his public career with calmness, and to pass upon him a judgment untainted by party prejudice. Time, the inexorable judge of public men, has not yet duly weighed Marlborough's merits against his failings—his great achievements against the defects of his nature and the blemishes in his conduct. In bringing to a close this part of his history, I wish to summarize my conception of his genius, and to recapitulate my general view of his character. In doing this, it is necessary to remember, that although his mind was well balanced, it had never been enlarged by study or strengthened by methodical education. Though gifted with a brilliant genius, he lacked culture and scholarship, yet all who love England may well rejoice that God created him a Cæsar rather than a Cicero.

The further we are removed from Marlborough's intrigues and calculated treachery during the Revolution period, the more brilliantly he stands forth as a great man of action. We are still so much under the glamour of Wellington's more recent achievements, and the appalling danger he saved us from is still so present to our minds, that the renown of Waterloo seems almost to obscure the marvellous glory of Blenheim. But in some respects time serves rather to darken and accentuate the crimes with which Marlborough is charged; not that any fresh discoveries have been made to his prejudice, but because our whole conception of ethics and of public morality has changed, and goes on changing. An offence that might have been regarded as venial towards the end of the seventeenth century

would now suffice to outlaw the offender, however high his position. Is it, for example, conceivable that England would nowadays suffer a King as immoral, dishonourable, and contemptible as Charles II.?

Marlborough's lot was cast in an age which, though picturesque, was not distinguished for patriotism or chivalry. There were no lofty ideals; although religion was still a strong motive power in Europe, nations seldom fought for an idea. The main object of an English courtier was to enjoy life in self-indulgent idleness, and to grow rich with the least possible trouble to himself. To be philanthropic or serious at the Restoration Court was to be deemed vulgar.

During the period embraced in these volumes, the history of England is a long story of internal strife, dissension, and revolution. The 'Great Rebellion'; the murder of the King; the proud rule of Cromwell; the Restoration, followed by the national debasement under the brothers, Charles and James; and then, pestilence, fire and civil war, until England could bear its misfortunes no longer, and the people at length chased the last Stewart King from these shores. Then came the reign of William and Mary, with its plots and conspiracies, some real, many false. England, torn by internal dissensions, became powerless abroad, while the strength of France, under the absolute rule of an able King, increased proportionately. The Treaty of Westphalia had given Alsace and Roussillon to France, and extended her southern frontier to the Pyrenees. She became compact, wealthy, powerful on land and sea, and formidable to her neighbours. Protestantism had been well-nigh exterminated within her borders, and with it had died—at least, for the time—all national aspiration for civil liberty. To rule absolutely at home, and to extend the territory of France at the expense of his neighbours, was the policy of the self-styled 'Great Monarch.' 24, 10, 1648.

Those who would thoroughly grasp what Marlborough effected by his great victories, must closely study

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Lewis XIV., his aims and objects, and his plans for their accomplishment. Indeed, none can thoroughly follow the workings of Marlborough's mind or the secret motives of his crooked actions, who have not made themselves acquainted with all the history of his time. So close is the connection between his career and concurrent events, that at the risk of relating an oft-told tale, I felt bound to give a rough outline of contemporary historical occurrences, and I have striven to make known every fact that could tell for or against his character and reputation. Nothing has been suppressed, nothing extenuated.

Marlborough's career divides itself naturally into two distinct parts. The first extends over the period described in the preceding chapters—that is, from his birth to the year 1702, in which King William placed him at the head of the Allied Dutch and English armies in Flanders. The second comprises the last nineteen years of his life, and embraces a period of military glory unparalleled in English history.

I have no intention to consider, as yet, his place among the great soldiers from Hannibal to General Lee. It will be time enough to criticise his military genius when my readers have before them an exhaustive study of his great campaigns. When Napoleon, shortly before his death, was discussing the character of the world's greatest leaders, he said: 'Marlborough was not a man whose mind was narrowly confined to the field of battle. He fought and negotiated. He was at once a captain and a diplomatist.'*

We have now to judge his character and actions apart from those world-renowned victories which might be pleaded in extenuation of his faults. His unerring wisdom in council, his genius as a strategist and diplomatist, and his

* The result of this conversation, which took place on the 19th April, 1821 (see Abbot's 'History of Napoleon'), was that Napoleon sent his copy of Coxe's 'Life of Marlborough' as a present to the officers of the 20th Regiment—now the Lancashire Fusiliers—then on duty at Longwood. This book is preserved most carefully amongst the prized memorials of that old and distinguished regiment.

tactical adroitness, will be discussed later on. Let us for the present merely endeavour to form a fair estimate of his character and personality, and of the spirit which animated him during the first fifty-two years of his life. Let us judge him as one of those who, in order to establish Protestantism as the national faith, and thereby to secure our liberties and political privileges, violated their most cherished feelings at the Revolution. Let us try his conduct as we are wont to try the conduct of Lords Russell, Danby, Devonshire, Halifax, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Bishop Compton, Admiral Herbert, Henry Sidney, and the others with whom Marlborough acted, and while doing so, let us remember how often he was the victim of slanderous libels, and how important it was to the rival political party to accomplish his downfall.

In moral character, Marlborough was as far above the age in which he lived, as he was in ability above the men who governed it. Although there was much that was inconsistent in his character, there was no grovelling mediocrity, nothing insignificant about him. He was essentially a man of the world, who looked at everything, outside of his religious life, from a worldly point of view, and who reflected in his career of practised worldliness all that was most salient in the character and aims of the English courtier and public man of his time. He possessed the easy grace and winning ways of the polished men who surrounded Charles: he shared the earnest Protestantism, both of faith and of liberty, which inspired those who accomplished the Revolution and drove out James: while not even the untiring William equalled him in capacity for constant and heavy business, and in the power of endurance which it demanded. His life-work, however, only began where these volumes leave off, and not even Napoleon, in the height of his glory, toiled harder for his country than did Marlborough in Anne's reign. But in comparing these two great soldier statesmen, it should not be forgotten that Napoleon at Auster-

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litz was only thirty-seven, whilst Marlborough was nearly a quarter of a century older when he forced the lines of Bouchain.

He was a man of business in an unbusiness-like age; and at a time when straightforward dealing in public affairs was neither practised nor esteemed, he was noted for his cool, well thought-out management of affairs. There was a British thoroughness in the way he worked out everything which he undertook, and no contemporary left behind him a larger correspondence, although he hated writing.* I have heard of no other great man who cared so little for applause and popularity. He seemed to despise that public opinion which eventually—in revenge, as it were, for his indifference—cut short his career of usefulness, and has for two centuries blasted his reputation.

He was no party politician or phrasemonger, but he would have made great and renowned the smallest village that was placed under his rule.† He was a man of facts, not of words, of deeds rather than of theories; an admirer of strong Governments which rule and lead the people rather than of those which drift with every passing current of popular opinion. He was, in short, a great and gifted man of action, who made England feared as well as renowned, and who, like Cromwell, was not afraid to make her great.

Marlborough had many failings, and great as he was, it is not easy to love his memory as we all love that of Nelson, nor to respect it as we do that of Wellington. Yet still there is something so attractive about the man's personality that we feel drawn towards him in spite of his faults. He was no saint, and he was too fond of money, but throughout his whole life he displayed a simplicity and gentleness of disposition, a touching sympathy with grief and sorrow, and a loathing of cruelty and injustice, that go far to counterbalance his many faults. Mercy was

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 129.

† Plutarch makes Themistocles say this of himself.

always in his thoughts, and if in action he smote hard, he always sheathed his sword with unaffected pleasure, and upon any good excuse. To the wounded and the destitute he was ever a friend, and he proved the kindness of his heart by a compassionate sympathy for his prisoners, and the care to avoid hurting their feelings by any exultation of manner.

Who can read unmoved the many touching passages in his letters to his absent wife? Clumsy and ungrammatical as they are, the loyal, loving spirit of the man breathes in every line. And who that loves England can read the story of his life without feeling a reflected glow of the enthusiasm which he inspired in the day of his power, when he stood, the central figure in Europe, the councillor of kings and the idol of his soldiers? Yet this is the man whom Swift hounded down with that combative instinct for which he was remarkable—pressing gossip, spite, and slander into the service of vituperation. Indeed, it would be difficult to draw from the history of any other great man a more striking illustration of the everness of the lie and the strong vitality of the libel.

Few men have ever had so clever and unscrupulous a detective as Swift set upon their trail with a commission to search into every event of their lives, and, *per fas et nefas*, to work out a case against their character and reputation. That he was able to find so little against the mighty soldier-statesman, redounds greatly to Marlborough's credit. And since every public document was at the service of Swift and his hirelings, Marlborough may surely be acquitted of every fault not included in the Dean's cruel indictment.

Notwithstanding Marlborough's signal services, the withering blight with which they were covered by the writings of this one man, caused the England of his latter years to hate him as if he had betrayed her. The power of the pen has seldom been more forcibly exemplified. England was drunk with the glory he had brought her,

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and her sons were inflated with pride by reason of his victories. Yet despite all, the great essayist and his paid libellers persuaded the reading world that he was a Judas, while the people took up the cry, and harried him till he died.

Like Wellington, Marlborough had nothing of the braggart about him, and he never posed after the manner of Napoleon. He despised the 'stage business' and theatrical effects of public life; he was always dignified, without studying to be so; he had none of the mannerisms or the trappings of vulgar greatness, and the success which he achieved neither brutalized nor intoxicated him. Marlborough was patriotic in that he longed to make England great, but his patriotism lacked the steadfast dignity of Chatham's impassioned public spirit, and the chivalry and unselfish devotion which in men of Nelson's stamp transmute their love of country into a religion.

When enlarging upon his great qualities, Prince Eugène thus refers to his well-known love of money: 'But what is it we all term the politics of a Court, the reasons of State? The personal interests of ambition or the vengeance of a man in power. In looking into my own heart, I believe this last motive, as well as the first, has operated a little too much upon me, as a desire for power and riches exerted a little bias over the conduct of Marlborough.'* An aide-de-camp, sent one evening to the English headquarters by Eugène, found the Duke in bed. A servant lit two candles, but during the conversation Marlborough blew out one, evidently considering two candles a useless extravagance.†

In a later volume I shall discuss the charge that he sought to prolong the war in order to enrich himself, and hope to prove how unfairly this accusation has been pressed against him. A similar indictment was urged against Cæsar by his political enemies, who accused him

* Prince Eugène's Memoirs.

† 'Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se repose' (by Dutens), vol. i., p. 108.

of plundering distant provinces, and alleged that in his greed of money he even robbed holy shrines. In both instances the evidence for these charges is of the flimsiest description.

There are two distinct forms of avarice: the desire to save by spending little, which leads to meanness and miserliness, and the determination to acquire wealth even though it must be taken from others, which leads to great crimes. Marlborough's avarice was of the mean, not of the criminal order, and whilst we know that he refused great bribes, his worst enemies were never able to prove that he had ever defrauded any man, or been even unfair in his money dealings with others.

A long acquaintance with poverty had made him economical in his habits. In the days of his greatness he was still actuated by the same thrifty spirit which possessed him when, as a young ensign, he lived on his pay. The man who for the greater part of his life has to count every farthing he spends in order to make both ends meet, generally finds it difficult to open his purse-strings when he exchanges poverty for riches.

Late in life, when looking over some old papers with his friend Lord Cadogan, he took a green purse from a little drawer in his writing-table, and contemplating its contents with evident satisfaction, he said, 'Cadogan, observe these pieces well; they deserve to be observed. There are just forty of them; it's the very first sum I ever got in my life, and I have kept it always unbroken from that time to this day.'* What memories of youth, with its struggles and ambitions, must not this little hoard have brought back to the old man! In cases like his it is not easy to draw a clear distinction between praiseworthy thrift and culpable parsimony.

Close to Blenheim Palace a pretentious bridge spans some low ground, where there trickles at times what the guide-

* 'Old English Worthies.'

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book describes as a little river. This bridge suggested the following biting epigram:

'The lofty arch his high ambition shows,
The stream an emblem of his bounty flows.'

He kept accurate accounts of his daily expenditure, and entered his servants' wages and other expenses with a precision equal to that shown in such matters by the great Duke of Wellington.* The care with which Marlborough looked after even his small bills is evidenced by the fact that he wrote the celebrated note to his wife announcing the victory of Blenheim, on the back of a page torn from his pocketbook, upon which he had previously entered a washing account.

Avarice and money-making were as common in Marlborough's age as they are at present, but in his time it was the custom to make money out of the State in many ways, and notably, by the sale of places, and also of interest with those in power. We have already seen how Lord Cadogan took money from men who sought an interview with his great chief. Pepys died rich, all he possessed having been obtained by the sale of promotions

* The following copy of an account current between Marlborough and his groom in 1699 is worth transcribing for many reasons. It is copied from a paper in Blenheim Palace:

1699.	£	s.	d.
December ye 2, pd. for 2 duzon of Stable brooms . .	0	4	0
and pd. for A paire of Shoes for Stephen . . .	0	4	0
the 4 pd. for A peck of hempseed	0	1	4
and pd. for A pound of candles	0	0	6
the 14 pd. for mending Stephen's Shoes . . .	0	1	4
And pd. for Linen for Stephen's Sherts . . .	1	8	0
and for Makeing	0	2	0
	2	1	2

Pay to Shurley, the Groom, two pounds, one shilling and two pence.
De: 26: 99.' Marlborough.

The account itself is in a strange hand; the order to pay is written by Marlborough himself.

in the navy, and by other equally questionable proceedings in the exercise of his public duties. But despite Marlborough's love of money, no instance of venality has ever been brought home to him. Wealth did not make him purse-proud or less easy of approach, and he knew how to be generous on occasions to a comrade, He amassed an immense fortune, but he swindled no one. He was in the very zenith of his fame when John Evelyn records the kindly tact with which the great commander sought out and welcomed the old Puritan-souled cavalier in a brilliant throng, where, doubtless, it was easy for out-of-date worth to suffer neglect.

Amongst his wife's papers there is the following remarkable note by her upon the accusation of sordidness, so freely flung against his character: 'I have heard him (Marlborough) solemnly swear, when it was of no signification to do it to me, that he never in the whole reign of Queen Anne sold one commission, title, or anything to anybody when he had so much favour from Queen Anne. He had a great deal of compassion in his nature, and to those that he had been long acquainted with, he gave money out of his own pocket to those that were poor, though they were not of his opinion. I am a living witness of this, for I was directed by him to pay some pensions when he was abroad, and have letters that prove the truth of it from the persons.'* In writing this, she evidently intended it to apply not only to his wars in Flanders, but to his whole career.

Marlborough was singularly free from prejudices, and was moved by few strong convictions, except upon the point of religion; hence his views on all subjects were broad for the age in which he lived. Clever, astute, and possessed of great originality, he was a fanatic in no cause, and remained an opportunist to the end of his days. Cool and calm as Cæsar in the midst of the most appalling danger, he was as untiring in energy and perseverance as

* Blenheim Papers.

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was Napoleon in all that he undertook. Being no theorist, he studied man as he met him, not as he found him described in books.

A strong instinct served him in the selection of men, for he thoroughly understood the secret springs which influenced the conduct of all classes, and played deftly upon the individual idiosyncrasies and aspirations of those with whom he had to deal. The scientific estimate of human character did not interest him; but he could equally well manipulate the fierce vanity of the great soldier-despot, Charles XII., and the overbearing pride and pompous dulness of some hereditary Hoogheid or Hoheit of Pumpernikel. When genius fails in the work of every-day life, it is from ignorance of men and of how to influence them, and from a lack of that subtle and courageously directed energy which Marlborough possessed so largely. The written science of statesmanship had no allurement for him, and in dealing with his fellow-men he did not probe deeply below the surface to ascertain what spiritual nature might lie hidden beneath. Few amongst his contemporaries had so intimate an acquaintance with public affairs, both domestic and foreign, or with the men who controlled them; and he not only recognised, as if by inspiration, those upon whom he could rely to do his bidding, but seemed to know how they would do it.

From many years' experience and study of the men and women amongst whom he lived at Court, he had learnt the weak points in the character and disposition of both sexes. He thoroughly understood them, and could justly appraise the relative force of their virtues and their vices. Under an almost foppish exterior and an assumption of lazy indifference, he hid from casual observers the penetrating glance, which looked into the hearts of men and read their very thoughts. He was an excellent listener, and would often allow himself to be contradicted and opposed with the utmost good-humour. Few suspected that beneath the varnish of his polished manner there was great ambition,

and a fierce determination to find scope for it. There was no hesitancy, no uncertainty of purpose in that intense desire. He knew what he wanted, kept that object always before him, and firmly believed in his own power to achieve it. But he was human; and history tells us how that more than once he mistook the road up that thorny 'steep where Fame's proud temples shine,' to find himself, as it were, in a blind alley, from which, apparently, there was no outlet but over the scaffold. He possessed in a remarkable degree the power of winning over those whom he sought to influence. Some men are largely endowed with this persuasiveness, while others win by sheer force of character alone. But Marlborough, with all his directness of purpose and strong determination to have his own way, contrived to gain his ends by such a grace and charm of manner, that those he won over followed him as admiring friends, and not grudgingly as unwilling subjects or grumbling servants.

There was, in truth, a magnetism about him which made itself felt in every society which he frequented, and worked like a spell upon all who came within the circuit of its force. His words, full of charm, were uttered with a dignity that arrested attention, whilst they soothed and satisfied all for whom they were intended. His tone and manner indicated a reserve of power even in his moments of greatest volubility. He could refuse a request more graciously than most men can confer a favour, and it often happened that an unsuccessful applicant went away so charmed that he quite forgot his disappointment in the geniality of his reception.*

Whilst bent on securing the points he deemed essential to his plans, he would carefully, courteously, and often with some ostentation, give way upon small matters. This he did with exquisite adroitness, making believe that these trifling matters were of the first consequence, and that he yielded, not because of his opponent's solicitation, but

* Lord Chesterfield.

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because the superior views and opinions of that opponent had converted him. His fertility of resource was boundless. If thwarted, he evinced no resentment, neither did he exhaust his strength by continued or obstinate struggle; he merely shifted his ground, and instead of trying to remove an obstruction from his path, he set himself to work under or round it. He never gave up in despair, or indulged in the weak folly of public lamentation over the perverse ignorance of those who had wrecked his best-laid plans. No man ever knew better how to play a waiting game. 'As I think most things are governed by destiny,' he wrote, 'having done all that is possible, one should submit with patience.'* In his well-ordered mind all points to be solved were silently and closely argued out. Gifted with the greatest equanimity, he never allowed himself to be hurried or flurried, and he never mistook bustle for business in others. But 'with all his gentleness, no man living was more conscious of his situation, nor maintained his dignity better.'†

The cosmopolitanism of to-day would have been odious to him. His general policy was essentially national, and into it no questions of party were allowed to enter. It was, in fact, the reverse of the policy of those who overthrew him. The first aim of Harley and St. John was office and the material advantages which it afforded, and in pursuit of it they did not shrink from the foulest falsehood and scheming. That the Tories should rule, and that they themselves should be the acknowledged leaders, was to them of far greater moment than the country's welfare. Marlborough, on the contrary, never sought to perpetuate power in the hands of any one set, but employed men of both political parties, only considering the advantage of the nation.

Although educated in the tenets of Toryism and remaining a Tory in principle until the age of thirty-six, Marl-

* Coxe, vol. ii., p. 294.

† Lord Chesterfield's letter to his son of 18, 11, 1748.

borough was no slave to any theory of government in either Church or State. He was essentially liberal in his political views, and always repudiated exclusive adherence to any party. The form of government which evidently commended itself to him was that of a Protestant King, who should be his own First Minister, ruling through Ministers, who should have no collective responsibility, but be directly responsible to the King alone. The bent of his mind was towards a mild and beneficent despotism, provided that the despot would protect the liberties and religion of the people. Marlborough had no strong theories about liberty, but neither had the great bulk of the people. A small minority still adhered to Roundhead principles, but they and their creed had been utterly discredited. What the people clamoured for was war to the knife against Popery. Popular sentiment in England had been intensely roused by stories of the persecution of Protestants in France, and the feeling was kept alive by dramatic tales of horror related by the Huguenot refugees who crowded into London and all our large towns. By his revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Lewis XIV. had, as it were, declared war against Protestantism and free thought, and in doing so had aroused here an intensely angry feeling against himself and against all those Englishmen who still adhered to the ancient faith. The Whig policy meant the persecution of the English Romanists, notably by their exclusion from the public service; but it was a policy with which the liberal-minded Marlborough never sympathized.

It is noteworthy that Marlborough's rise to power was not the outcome of any great upheaval of society, as in the case of Cromwell, Washington, and Napoleon.

In the stormy times in which those three great revolutionists rose to eminence, a leader was urgently needed, and they, each after his own fashion, supplied the want. But Marlborough, after taking a leading part in bringing about that peaceful and bloodless change known as 'The

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Revolution,' rose in the usual order of promotion to be Commander-in-Chief of the army which was collected to do battle against France.

Marlborough was not a man of crotchets in public affairs. To carry on the 'Queen's Government smoothly' and for the benefit of England through the instrumentality of his friend Godolphin, was the home policy which he pursued when he became master of England at William's death; and to destroy the domineering power of France whilst maintaining the independence of Holland and protecting British commerce throughout the world, was the aim of his foreign policy. Having no decided bias himself, he always opposed the discussion of abstract questions of government, as well as violent expressions of public opinion on the affairs of State, and he shunned subjects calculated to arouse class hatred or to excite popular passion.

At all times, even when he spoke most freely, he had so much natural dignity that no one ever ventured to be pert or familiar with him.* When serving in the French Army, and on intimate terms with Turenne, he acquired, perhaps unconsciously, that great man's trick of raising or shrugging his shoulders when he wished to avoid any disagreeable question;† and amongst his intimates he had the habit of saying 'Silly, silly,' in a somewhat drawling tone, to questions which he deemed either inquisitive or inconvenient. This gained him the nickname of 'Silly-silly,' by which we find him at times referred to in familiar letters from his friends.‡

His enemies said that his voice was weak and squeaky, and we have evidence that, like Cæsar's, it was shrill when speaking in public, and at all times somewhat high.§ He

* Lord Chesterfield.

† Lord Ailesbury's 'Memoirs,' p. 571.

‡ Seward's 'Anecdotes,' vol. ii., p. 324.

§ Bishop Warburton states that Pope had repeated to him some unpublished lines, in which the death of Marlborough's son was thus unfeelingly referred to:

'In accents of a whining ghost
Laments the son he lost.'

was no orator, but though not a fervid, he was yet an effective, because a convincing speaker. Incapable of fiery declamation, he was never at a loss to find fitting words to convey his meaning to others. All he said was unimaginative, and measured. He appealed to no human passion, but rather to the cold common-sense of his hearers. No fire burned within him to kindle the sensibilities of his audience. His speeches were as devoid of ornament as were those of Wellington, but, then, their sterling sense and rugged strength required none. They were clear, simple, practical, and free from canting sentiment about the wickedness of men, or the loveliness of virtues which few respected and fewer practised. He knew that those whom he addressed had little real sense of justice or morality, and he spoke to them in terms suited to the low code of honour upon which they acted.

His character does not inspire as much respect as his genius, but until he became Captain-General at William's death, his career had been little more than one long series of intrigues, sometimes with, and sometimes against, his colleagues.* His enemies declare that he did not play the game fairly; but who amongst his contemporaries did so? Not surely James II., or William III., or Sunderland, not Shrewsbury, Nottingham, Godolphin, or Admiral Russell? Even the clergy were not irreproachable in this respect.

It would be difficult to find amongst the great men of the earth one more truly human than Marlborough; and if in his many-sided character there was often a certain want of harmony between his actions and his principles, still his kind heart and amiable disposition made him more lovable than it was in the nature of our great 'Iron Duke' to be. The animal passions which so often drive men to soul-and-body-destroying debauchery were in his case very strong, but kept in check and softened by natural tenderness and gentle-

* Before William died he had given Marlborough command of the English troops in Flanders, but he was not made Captain-General until Anne's reign.

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ness, and above all by his kind and sympathetic consideration for others. It is said that no coarse expression ever passed his lips, and in an age when men, and even women, spoke and wrote indecorously, it may be safely inferred that refinement of speech implied a corresponding refinement of mind. In judging him, few look beyond the record of his great deeds and the comments of critics who have emphasized and exaggerated every fault and crime laid to his charge, whether proven or not. But those who study his inner life will find a warm heart, a religious and spiritual faith, a fascinating manliness and an ardent love of home and country which influenced the whole of his career.

He was systematic in his habits, and possessed a complete mastery over himself. 'Calm and irresistible, like a force of nature,' his evenness of temper was all the more remarkable because, living with one so fiery and imperious as his wife, it must have been often sorely tried. But he used to say, 'patience will overcome all things,'* and the following anecdote illustrates how impossible it was to ruffle him. Riding one day with Mr. Commissary Marriot, it began to rain heavily, and the grooms behind were ordered to bring up their masters' cloaks. Mr. Marriot's servant, a good-humoured, bright lad, brought his immediately, but Marlborough's servant, a lazy, sulky fellow, was awkward in his attempts to undo the buckles which secured the coat to the saddle. The Duke, getting wet, called a second time for it, when the groom, in a surly, ill-tempered tone, grumbled out: 'You must wait, if it rains cats and dogs, till I can get at it.' Marlborough, turning to his companion in the calmest manner, said good-humouredly: 'I would not have that fellow's temper for all the world!'

Marlborough's yearning for home, and for the society of his wife and children, breathes through all his life. He expresses it in the letters written shortly after his

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 192.

marriage. We find it repeated when he was the greatest man in Europe, at the head of a large and victorious army, already old beyond his years, and worn-out by the cares, worries, and responsibilities of a long war. Take, for example, the following letter, written to Sarah in allusion to the building of Blenheim Palace: '. . . It is there I must be happy with you. The greatest pleasure I have, when I am alone, is the thinking of this, and flattering myself that we may then so live as neither to anger God nor men, if the latter be reasonable; but if they are otherways, I shall not much care if you are pleased, and that I do my duty to God; for ambition and business is what, after this war, shall be abandoned by me.' Again, writing during a hot July in Flanders, he says the heat 'will ripen the fruit at St. Albans. When you are there, think how happy I should be in walking alone with you. No ambition can make amends for being from you.'

During that solemn night before Blenheim, when far from home, upon the banks of the mighty Danube, he prayed so earnestly for victory, his mind wandered constantly to his house on the little Hertfordshire stream near St. Albans, and he longed to saunter through its trim gardens with the wife he loved before all earthly things. She was all in all to him, and this is so generally felt and recognized that mention is rarely made of Marlborough without some allusion to the beautiful termagant who ruled his heart and his destinies. The result is, that we are prone to judge him as if he were a duality, and to judge both, as if each were to be held responsible for the other's doings, sayings, aspirations, and thoughts. But this is not fair to him, for no man ever had more practical wisdom, and no clever woman ever had less.

I have dwelt much upon his deep and lover-like devotion to her, because it was an essential part of himself. He admired her beauty, though experience had taught him that it was not the beauty of holiness. He was fully conscious of her failings, for he was a frequent victim of

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her cross-grained temper, and of the violent outbursts of passion in which she frequently indulged. The acerbity with which she hated his Tory colleagues, Godolphin excepted, was a thorn in his side, and continually embroiled him with them and with the Queen, whose strong leaning towards that party was undisguised. But, notwithstanding her petulant disposition, she always remained his 'sweetheart.' His love for her was a species of tender worship; but, like those races who fear their devils more than they love their gods, he seemed generally more anxious to calm her fiery pugnacity than to elicit any tenderness by appeals to the love she certainly bore him. Surely no man who loved his wife as he did could be devoid of that tenderness and self-sacrifice which are the offspring of consideration for others. In the letter which he wrote to her when he embarked to set out on his great career of victory he says: 'We are now out of sight of Margate, and I have neither soul nor spirits; but I do at this moment suffer so much, that nothing but being with you can recompense it. If you will be sensible of what I now feel, you will endeavour ever to be easy to me, and then I shall be most happy; for it is you only that can give me true content. I pray God to make you and yours happy; and if I could contribute anything to it with the utmost hazard of my life, I should be glad to do it.'*

In another letter, written to her upon reaching the Hague, he says: '. . . . the quiet of my life depends only upon your kindness; and I beg you to believe that you are dearer to me than all things in this world. My temper may make you and myself sometimes uneasy; but when I am alone, and I find you kind, if you knew the true quiet I have in my mind, you would then be convinced of my being entirely yours, and that it is in no other power in this world to make me happy but yourself.'†

There can be no doubt of the strong faith in God which influenced his conduct from the date of his marriage

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 119. † *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 120.

onwards, though his was not an age of spiritual earnestness. It was a time of religious scepticism, when the principles of Hobbes appealed successfully to the reasoning faculty, and had caught the fancy of many. But no speculative doubt as to the accuracy of the Bible, the philosophy of its teaching, or the great scheme of Christian redemption, ever troubled his thoughts. To him the Gospel history was as unquestionably true as the elementary laws of nature, and he did not doubt or question the religious teaching of his childhood, but took it simply on trust as he had learned it. What had been good enough for his father, for Bacon, for Locke, and for the thousands of very great thinkers who believed in it, was good enough for him. Not so with his wife. Her questioning turn of mind led her to critically examine every point of religious belief, until at last she became a confirmed sceptic upon all matters of revealed religion, and not only lost all faith in goodness and truth herself, but came at last to despise, as dishonest fools, those who still retained it. Marlborough's letters, on the contrary, teem with expressions of trust in God, of belief in God's constant watchful care over him, and of unqualified reliance upon His aid and support. In every undertaking he looked for 'the particular blessing of the Almighty,' and saw His hand in all that happened. It was God who gave him victory, and it was by His mercy that he was preserved through the dangers which he encountered. He spent hours of the night before Blenheim in prayer, and, as was ever afterwards his custom, he received the Sacrament before going into action. Upon that particular occasion he said of himself, 'he believed he had prayed more that day than all the chaplains in the army.' He certainly possessed a childlike faith in the efficacy of prayer, which, in a mind of his calibre, so often confounds the reasoning of the ablest sceptic. His religion elevated his character and strengthened all the good that was within him. To such an extent did he sometimes allow his religious feelings to carry him, that we read of his cashiering two officers

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for blasphemy.* He was, however, as liberal in his views about rival creeds as he was about politics, harbouring no rancour against those who differed from him in spiritual belief, some of his best friends being Roman Catholics. Although he did not profess the creed of the High Churchmen of his time, he never ridiculed their views, nor did he, on the other hand, in any way condemn the peculiarities of the Dissenters. He recognised and admired the sincerity of all Christian believers. His was no emotional religion, but a living faith, worth fighting for if necessary, and for it at the Revolution he risked his life and everything he had.

One of our greatest historians says that Marlborough's conduct at the Revolution 'was a signal sacrifice to public virtue of every duty in private life, and required for ever after the most upright, disinterested and public spirited behaviour to render it justifiable.'† But few who are conversant with the ethics of the Restoration period will accept this theory. Marlborough had been educated and had spent his life in an atmosphere of crooked plots and counterplots. To scheme for what he wanted was second nature to him, as it was to all his friends; and he was as careful as a modern bookmaker to hedge against every possible turn of fortune's wheel. Except at the Revolution, when he drew the sword and threw away the scabbard, his conduct was always so calculated that, come what might, he should at least be safe from destruction and his family from ruin. Surely there is nothing incompatible in this union of a strong religious faith with the intriguing caution which was the fashion of the day.

Our reputation as a race of brave, stubborn men has been high in all ages. The Romans found our ancestors hard to beat, and in the long wars of the Middle Ages the prowess of the Briton was superior to that of other peoples. Yet, notwithstanding the antiquity of these war-

* 'Life of Colonel Gardiner,' by Dr. Doddridge, p. 129.

† Hume, vol. viii., chap. lxxii., p. 310.

like characteristics, it must be admitted that the reputation of our army only dates from Marlborough's victories. His wars first proved to modern Europe that Great Britain could produce not only stalwart soldiers as hard to beat as the victors of Crecy and Agincourt, but able commanders also; and that England possessed a native army officered by English gentlemen and led by an English General before which no other army of equal number could hold its own. It was Marlborough who first taught us to be proud of our standing army as a national institution, and the spirit of confidence which pervaded Wellington's army in the Peninsula, and to a still more remarkable degree shows itself now in Queen Victoria's army, may be said to have been born at Blenheim, baptized at Ramillies, and confirmed at Oudenarde.

In the heterogeneous army which he commanded, the British troops were soon recognized as the core round which the component parts crystallized into a hard and compact mass, upon which blows made no impression. They were as the steel point to the Confederates' spear which forced its way through all armour, and when at last the British contingent was withdrawn from the Allied army, victory fled its ranks.

In writing of men like Cæsar, Marlborough, and Napoleon, we feel that we have to deal with leaders, not followers, of public opinion, with real men, upon whose guidance hung the future of their countries and the destiny of Europe. Both Marlborough and Wellington dreaded the invasion of England by the French, and both conceived the maintenance of a well-planned balance of power amongst the great nations of the Continent, as necessary to preserve Europe from the general dominion of any one ambitious State. It is impossible to imagine what would now be the condition of Europe, or of civil and religious liberty anywhere, if those two Englishmen had died in the comparative obscurity of their early years. Lewis XVIII. said that a merciful Providence had sent a Wellington into the

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world as a counterpoise to Napoleon, and we may surely say the same of Marlborough with reference to Lewis XIV.

When Lord Bolingbroke was in exile, some French friends thought to please him by abusing his enemy, the great English General. With that dignity of mind which characterized him when not weighted with party considerations, he replied: 'I am the last person in the world to be told this. I knew the Duke of Marlborough better than any of you. He was so great a man I have entirely forgotten all his failings.' Until the party exigencies of political life had warped all sense of justice and gratitude in this remarkable genius, he had always spoken and written of Marlborough in the most gracious and generous terms.

The Duke of Wellington said, when asked about Marlborough, that he considered his strong sound sense and great practical sagacity were his most remarkable characteristics.* These were his own most salient qualities, and this answer of his shows how keenly he appreciated them in others.

Some great writers have misused their eloquence in abuse of Marlborough. Libellers have even dared to question the courage of the great soldier who was no longer young when he led the crushing charge at Ramillies, and whose sword, years afterwards, Prince Eugène kissed when it was bequeathed to him, saying as he received it, 'O sword that I have so often followed!'

'I hope,' Marlborough wrote, 'my services will need no apology with good men, and as long as they may be of any benefit to the public I shall be very little concerned at the endeavours any others may use to lessen them.' In another letter he comforts himself and reassures his correspondent with regard to some abuse which had been apparently levelled at both of them: '*We must continue to do our duty*,' he says; and he then goes on to infer, that if that be done, calumny can be regarded with contempt. Wellington could

* The Greville Diary of 8, 8, 1843.

have said no more, and Wellington had been formed in a sterner school of public morality.

The master spirits who command the armed forces of a free country are but the inspired mandatories of their country's will. They defend her interests and give effect to her aspirations; they clench the links of her strength, and are alike pioneers and guardians of her power; and in England the noble, selfless word 'duty' has long been the motto of her most famous warrior sons. Marlborough, his great, serene mind ruffled for a moment by insult, comforts himself with this magic word; Nelson thrills his eager fleet and all future generations of Englishmen with it; Wellington, cold and impregnable, rests upon it. May England never forget all that she owes to that word, and remembering how much it has achieved for her in the past, may she thus be enabled to keep faith with her future!

But as regards Marlborough's detractors, 'he has outsoared the shadow of (their) night,' and his finest qualities still form an integral part of our national heritage of fame. No one did more to redeem his country from the abject servitude into which she had sunk when the Stewarts reduced her to being 'little more than a province of France.'* The Kings whom he first served were but pensioners of Lewis XIV.; those whom he helped to create were more than their enemy's equals. Queen Anne as a woman was dull and apathetic; but, championed by Marlborough, she became distinguished as the representative of an enduring monarchy, respected abroad and beloved at home, and the traditional sentiment of loyalty, thus brought into harmony with our national requirements, has never since been seriously impaired.

That he had faults is freely admitted, and it is sometimes harder to excuse petty foibles in a great man than to forgive those huge errors which are the outcome of deep passions, and are often redeemed by pathos and tragedy. It is sorry work to dwell on the errors of the mighty dead,

* Burnet.

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or on the malevolent skill which exaggerated them, and Marlborough's calmness and indifference under insult may have goaded his detractors to further attacks. But surely John Churchill's faults may be deemed as more than expiated when we remember that he, formerly so handsome, so gallant, so dominant, was in his helpless old age shown for money by his own servants to visitors at Blenheim Palace, an object of vulgar curiosity to sightseers in the lonely corridors of the vast pile built to commemorate his glory. Yet his fame still enriches our national history, and for generations his name lived in the terrors of our enemies as French mothers hushed their children with the national alarm of: 'Malbrook s'en va-t-en Guerre.'

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